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ABSTRACT

Designed to accompany a historical exhibition of engravings, drawings, books, documents, photographs, and artifacts that depict major influences upon education in Hawaii, this document includes a selection of captioned photographs from the exhibition and three essays that provide an overview of the history of education in the Hawaiian Islands. The photographs show schools that were established in Hawaii over the years and illustrate facets of traditional Hawaiian education, early influences from abroad, missionary educational accomplishments, education under the Hawaiian monarchy, early twentieth century education, ethnic language schools, the development of higher education, and current issues in education. In one accompanying essay, Marion Kelly describes traditional education among the early Hawaiians, characterizing that education as being practical, skill oriented, socially useful, realistic, and oriented to learning-by-doing along with memorization and rote. In the second essay, Ralph Stueber provides an informal history of schooling in Hawaii, emphasizing the influence and ultimate domination of American education, and the conflicts and compromises brought about by multicultural Hawaiian society. In the third essay, Barbara Hunt explores the future of Hawaiian education in the face of the communications revolution and the possibility of local control of public institutions. (Author/MJL)

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ED221618

to teach the children

Historical Aspects of Education in Hawai'i

A publication accompanying the exhibition commemorating the
50th anniversary of the College of Education
and the 75th anniversary of the University of Hawai'i

Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum • Honolulu, Hawai'i
September 25 1981 through December 31 1982

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INTRODUCTION

This publication has a two-fold purpose: to record through an abbreviated selection of photographs with captions the exhibition—To Teach The Children: Historical Aspects of Education in Hawai'i—and to provide in essay an overview of the history of education in the Islands.

The exhibition, which opened September 24, 1981, is a collaborative project between the College of Education, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum and commemorates the 50th anniversary of the College of Education in 1981 and the 75th anniversary of the University of Hawai'i through December 1982.

Designed to show the major influences upon education in Hawai'i from pre-western contact to the present, the exhibition was organized in eight sections: traditional Hawaiian education, early influences from abroad, missionary educational accomplishments, education in the monarchic period, education in the early 20th century, ethnic language schools, development of higher education, and current issues in education. The approximately two hundred pieces—engravings, drawings, books, documents, photographs and artifacts—included in the exhibition were loaned by museums, libraries, and archives in Hawai'i.

The essays in the publication were contributed by Marion Kelly, associate anthropologist with the Bishop Museum; Ralph Stueber, professor of education in the College of Education, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and Barbara Hunt, chairman of the department of education, Bishop Museum. They provide a substantial understanding of traditional education among the early Hawaiians, the early influences of American education in the Islands and its persistence and ultimate domination, and concerns for the future of education in the State. These insightful writings comprise an excellent introduction into the multifaceted history of education in Hawai'i.

The exhibition and publication as conceived by Alexander L. Pickens, professor of education, College of Education, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, became a labor of love which involved many individuals and institutions in the State. Their complete and generous cooperation is acknowledged with gratitude.

As members of the planning committee for the exhibition, Marion Kelly and Barbara Hunt contributed valuable ideas for its development and were responsible for the content in those sections dealing with pre-western contact and education in the future, respectively.

David Kemble, chairman of the exhibits department at the Bishop Museum and co-director of the project, was the individual who grasped the scope of the exhibition and kept us at our tasks. Without his zealous dedication, organizational skill, taste and care for detail, this engrossing exhibition could never have been realized.

Wendie Liu, graduate assistant in the College of Education, spent many weeks looking at hundreds of photographs before final selections for the exhibition could be made. Once these had been chosen, her careful documentation formed the basis for many of the captions. As a researcher she was invaluable! Her resourcefulness in finding the unusual in both photographs and documents contributed greatly to the variety of the material included in the exhibition.

Many staff members from the Bishop Museum assisted in the preparation of the exhibition, each contributing a personal dimension to its success: Lynn Davis, photo librarian, and Cy Timberlake, librarian, were ingenious in locating and carefully documenting photographs, prints and drawings important to the exhibition from photo archives and the Museum's library; Ben Portnoy labored diligently to produce the very best photographic reproduction possible from faded originals—his success was phenomenal; John McLaughlin, Ponifacio Lilomaiava, Hisao Goto, Tadao Harada, Donald Solt and Andrew Elston assisted in producing a

professionally detailed exhibition installation.

Members of the College of Education staff who gave generously of their time in assisting with the research for the exhibition include Gary Watabayashi, Lloyd Yamasaki and Wilfred Yago.

Many institutions and individuals provided materials and support for this exhibition and to them I extend my sincere appreciation:

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Chancery Office, Roman Catholic Diocese of Honolulu
Dr. Walter W.Y. Chang
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Historiographer, Episcopal Church
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Funding for the exhibition was provided, in part, by grants from the Institute for Museum Services, a federal agency in the Department of Education, which offers general operating and program support to the nation's museums, and the Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities, a public program of the National Endowment for the Humanities, which also provided funding for this publication. Without the assistance of these agencies, the exhibition would not have been possible.

The design and editing of this publication and the poster announcing the exhibition reflect endless hours of dedicated effort by Alexander P Kali, publications editor with the Office of University Relations, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. His extensive knowledge of Hawaiian language, culture and history and exceptional abilities in editing and graphic design have permitted him to produce these, among other, exceptional printed materials.

To those who have believed in the worth of the project, to those who encouraged its development and completion and to those who have acknowledged with pleasure the worthwhile result, I wish to express my appreciation. Me ke aloha pumehana.

Alexander L. Pickens
Co-Director of the Project
Professor of Education and Chairman, 50th Anniversary Celebration Committee
College of Education, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

SOME THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION IN TRADITIONAL HAWAIIAN SOCIETY

Marion Kelly

From the time of birth, Hawaiian children were surrounded by many people. By touch, voice and eyes they transmitted to children the sense of a family community of living and caring relatives and friends.

The daily life of the Hawaiian extended family, often with 20 or more members and three or four generations, provided children with a rich variety of experiences: men's work, women's work; making tools, cordage, mats, *kapa*; preparing food, reciting chants; listening to storytelling or family discussions; experiencing love, birth and death. Children were exposed very early in life to the full fabric of community living. "Few, if any, secrets of speech or act existed within the family."[1]

Much of a child's education consisted of observing family members in their daily activities and eventually trying tasks for themselves. The age of children was not measured in years, but by the tasks they could perform:

> Big enough to carry a small gourd full of water (about two). Big enough to carry two coconuts (five or six). Strong enough to carry a smaller member of the family on his back (about 10).[2]

Teachers in traditional Hawaiian society were the elders: parents, *mākua*, grandparents, *kūpuna*, or other family members—particularly those of parent or grandparent generation with special skills. Older siblings also had great influence over the younger children. The goal of teaching was to prepare children for full participation as functioning members of society. Both in content and form the education of Hawaiian children reflected Hawaiian society's basic values and needs.

Before discussing what and how children were taught, it will be useful to examine briefly certain aspects of Hawaiian society which illustrate some of the skills and values of importance to its members.

In Hawaiian society before 1778, the skills people needed were basically those which brought about successful harvests of crops from the land and fish from the sea, and good health for the people. The basic values were those supporting and enabling these successes—or at least were believed to minimize their failures.

Most of us tend to think of Hawaiian society as relatively static. The picture we have in our minds is fixed on the period around the 1780s and 90s. But, it is probable that some aspects of the culture were quite different in earlier periods and that some rather dynamic changes took place during the last three or four hundred years prior to the arrival of Captain James Cook's expedition in 1778. In contrast, the earliest period of Hawaiian occupation of these Islands is sometimes called the time of La'ila'i, the time of calm, peace, and stillness. Haumea, the goddess of childbirth and ancestress of the Hawaiian people, was associated with La'ila'i.

The Polynesians established themselves in the Hawaiian Islands by 500 AD—or earlier. For the first few hundred years the population remained small, doubling about every 100 years or so.[3] An increase in the population from 50 to 100, 100 to 200, or even 3,000 to 6,000 in the first few centuries of occupation would probably not have triggered any drastic change. However, later doubling of the population from 50,000 to 100,000 in the same time span undoubtedly created a greater stress on the food resources than in earlier years. Thereafter, each doubling of the population increased the stress and, if continued, would have eventually required some qualitative changes in the social system and in production technology. It was in these later years of increasing economic and political turmoil, perhaps, that highly centralized social controls were

developed by chiefs and massive community labor groups were utilized by them for building large fishponds and extensive, irrigated agricultural systems to provide food for the rapidly increasing population. In later periods the same labor resource was used to build large temples that provided a means by which the chiefs and priests were able, subsequently, to retain their influence and authority over the rest of the population—the influence and authority having been acquired during times of great stress.

Deification of chiefs, ancestor worship, and claimed genealogical connections with the gods of creation by chiefs helped to maintain the class structure of the late period that was characterized by the dominance of chiefs, *ali'i*, and priests, *kahūna*, over commoners, *maka'āinana*.

The Hawaiian economy was rooted in more than a thousand years of subsistence agriculture and fishing. The value of cooperative, social labor was constantly reinforced by experience. People working together achieved important tasks that could not be accomplished by working alone. All of life's necessities were produced within the society. Everyone had access to its basic resources, distribution of the products of labor was primarily through gift giving or sharing among members of one's extended family, *'ohana*, friends and neighbors. Approved behavior emphasized cooperating, sharing, conserving resources, and the importance of one's kin group—especially one's siblings.

The basic socio-economic land unit was the *ahupua'a*, within which most production and distribution took place. Essentially, the *ahupua'a* was a strip of land stretching inland from the seashore into the forest and often to the top of the mountain. The inhabitants of each *ahupua'a* were provided a degree of economic independence; their needs being supplied by fishing grounds at the shore, forest land in the mountains, and the taro, sweet potato and other crop-producing land and fresh-water springs and streams between mountain and sea. Accessibility by footpaths, *ala hele*, to the resources in the sea-to-mountain *ahupua'a* reiterated the principle of use rights for all residents of the *ahupua'a*. A land surveyor of the 19th century, C.J. Lyons summarized this principle as follows:

> Hawaiian life vibrated from *uka*, mountain, whence came wood, *kapa*, for clothing, *olona* for fishline, *ti*-leaf for wrapping paper, *ie* for ratan lashing, wild birds for food, to the *kai*, sea, whence came *ia*, fish, and all connected therewith.[4]

Land divisions within the *ahupua'a*, such as the *'ili 'āina*, *'ili lele*, *mo'o 'āina* and *kihapai*, as well as the *ala he'e* from the shore to the interior, repeated the same sea-to-mountain orientation. Both land divisions and footpaths re-confirmed the principle of universal availability of resources to supply the basic needs of life in that society.

Conceptually, the land was considered the domain of the gods. It was believed that the gods had created it, and everything on it; the same was true for the sea. Most actions of man relating to the environment were accomplished by requests for sanction from the god concerned. Hereditary chiefs assumed the role of administrators of the land for the gods, claiming them as ancestors. Traditionally, a good chief was considered one who watched over the welfare of the land, the sea, and the people who lived under his care—in much the same way that older family members watched over the younger.

Chiefs assigned land parcels to farmers, *mahi'ai*, to cultivate. In recognition of the relationship established between them, the farmer gave portions of his crop to his chief and the gods concerned in the form of first-fruits tribute, *ho'okupu*, or *'auwae 'āina*.

'A'ohe ola o ka 'āina i ke ali'i haipule 'ole / The land cannot live under an irreligious chief.[5] *E mālama i ke kanaka nui, i ke kanaka iki* / Take care of the big man and the little man.[6] Such sayings reflected cultural values and provided advice for good chiefs to follow.

As with populations of many subsistence cultures, the people spent considerable time and effort trying to assure bountiful crops and fishing successes. Ceremonies, *ho'ohanohano*; offerings, *ho'oulu*; sacrifices, *mōhai*; chants, *mele*; prayers, *pule*, and strict rules of behavior, *kapu*, were aimed at maintaining sympathetic relations with the gods whose assigned domains included, among others, crop productivity, weather, health, and political power.

Of the major gods, Kane, Kanaloa, Lono and Kū, farmers considered Lono their primary deity. Lono was the god of clouds, rain, winds, sea, agriculture and fertility. He was the patron, Lonomakua, of the new year celebration, *makahiki*, when the first

fruits of agricultural endeavors were presented to him and when war was forbidden, *kapu*.[7] To Kane, god of sunlight, fresh water and forests, offerings were also made for fertility and good health.

A successful farmer was one who took good care of the land by cultivating it, keeping it productive and propitiating the appropriate gods. "Food was a child to be cared for, and it required great care."[8]

Fishermen, *lawai'a*, observed the rites of the god of the fishermen, Kū'ulakai, Kū-of-abundance-in-the-sea, in shrines, *kū'ula*, located along the seashore. Kū'ulakai had the power to provide an abundance of fish.[9,10] Hinapukui'a, a female deity and goddess of fishermen, was the wife of Kū'ulakai.[11]

Historian Samuel Kamakau provides a brief summary of Hawaiian society in its late period:

> The Hawaiians were in old days a strong and hard-working people skilled in crafts and possessed of much learning. In hospitality and kindness they excelled . . . . Cultivation of the land was their main industry. With their hands alone, assisted by tools made of hard wood from the mountains and by stone adzes, they tilled large fields and raised taro, sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, sugar cane, and *'awa*; and bartered, *ku'ai'ia*, their product or used it at home. Always the first food of the harvest was offered to the gods . . . . The land was fertile, and the principal crop on Kauai, Oahu, and Molokai was wet-land taro cultivated in ponds, artificially constructed patches, along the banks of water courses, or anywhere the ground was soft and moist. On Maui and Hawaii where there was less wet land, dry-land taro was cultivated. On Lānai and Niihau sweet potatoes were the principal crop. On Kauai, Oahu, and Molokai also are to be seen most of the fishponds built to preserve the fish supply.[12]
>
> All the work outside the house was performed by the men, such as tilling the ground, fishing, cooking in the *imu*, and furnishing whatever the women needed in the house. This was the common rule on Kauai, Oahu, and Molokai, but on Maui and Hawaii the women worked outside as hard as the men, often cooking, tilling the ground, and performing the duties in the house as well.[13]

Community-oriented work projects were organized under the leadership of chiefs. Each project accomplished a specific task as required from time to time by the needs of the community. Responsibility for the general welfare of the community was shared by all productive members. Building agricultural terraces, *lo'i* or *mala*, digging ditches, *'auwai*, to irrigate the taro gardens, constructing fishponds, *loko i'a*, to cultivate fish at the shoreline, and building temples, *heiau*, for religious ceremonies were large community projects that required the labor of many people working together (see Figure 1). Building canoes, *wa'a*, canoe sheds, *hālau wa'a*, and houses, *hale*, were among the many projects worked on by people from the community (see Figure 2).

Figure 1

The value of cooperative social labor, of many people working together to accomplish large community projects, was constantly reinforced by experience. Large constructions such as agricultural terraces, irrigation systems, fishpond walls and *heiau*, temples, were built in this fashion. Tradition tells of people forming long lines and passing stones from hand to hand, the stones flowing like a river from quarry to construction site. Drawing by J. Feher, in *Hawaii: A Pictorial History*.

Figure 2

Under the watchful eye of the *kahuna kalaiwa'a*, canoe-making expert, a tree was selected, cut down, and the trunk trimmed to the shape of a canoe hull while it was still in the forest. Working together, the canoe builders guided the unfinished hull down to the canoe *hālau*, shed, at the shore where it would be completed. Heavy ropes were attached to both bow and stern to restrain and control the massive hull. Drawing by J. Feher, in *Hawaii: A Pictorial History*.

Preserved in chants are the names of chiefs who lived in the late period of Hawaiian society and are said to have organized the efforts of the people to expand food production. One tradition records that chief Kalamakua, who lived in the late 15th or early 16th centuries, was responsible for having engineered the construction of large taro gardens in the Waikiki-Mo'ili'ili area. When Capt. George Vancouver visited Waikiki in 1792, he wrote the following description:

> The plain had the appearance of being divided into fields of irregular shape and figure, which were separated from each other by low stone walls, and were in a very high state of cultivation. Planted with taro root . . . nearly a mile from the beach was a rivulet five or six feet wide, and about two or three feet deep, well banked up . . . affording a constant supply (of water) to the taro plantations.[14]

Even down into historic times the tradition of working together persisted. The building of the Paki *'auwai* in Nu'uanu in the mid-1800s was done with the labor of many farmers who would gain from the additional water it would bring to their taro gardens. "Chief Paki planned it and directed its construction."[15] "Seven hundred men worked on the project; 300 being furnished by Paki, 300 by the chief Kahekili, and 50 each by Kuakini and Dr. Rooke. The work was completed in three days."[16] In such projects, the water diverted into the ditch was usually divided among those who had participated in the construction. Each farmer was allotted water according to the number of workers he had supplied. The size of the work force contributed would be commensurate with the acreage planted and for which water was needed.[17]

When Pu'ukoholā Heiau was built at Kawaihae, during the time of Kamehameha I, "thousands of people (were) encamped on the neighboring hillsides, and took turns working."[18] An aged Hawaiian resident of Kawaihae-uka told Fornander that he had assisted in carrying stones to build this *heiau*. Every aspect of the labor was organized: the food for the multitudes, the time of work, and time of relaxation. Many powerful chiefs participated in the work.[19]

Tradition states that Pūko'o fishpond on Moloka'i was "built by all of the people of Molokai. (It was said to have been) the fruit of their joint labor and toil in former days, when they were drafted and commanded by *lunas* [foremen] and chiefs, from every point of Molokai and brought to that work . . . ."[20] "All the people were called to this work from Kamaloo to Halawa."[21] "Women and children also went and worked in the sea gathering lime [puna coral] for said wall."[22]

Other large community works were accomplished by great numbers of people working together. "There is a large amount of property on Molokai, consisting of taro patches and fishponds, dug and built with immense labor by all the people unitedly."[23]

The clearing of irrigation ditches was always a community effort. Everyone who had taro pondfields fed by the *'auwai* would gather together before the rainy season began and clear all debris from the ditch.

Certain types of fishing, particularly those done with large nets, required the combined efforts of many canoes and men (see Figure 3). Sometimes as many as 60 or 80 canoes worked together to bring in enough fish for everyone in the village to share.[24] Some fish travel in large schools and catching them requires careful cooperation of all under the leadership of a head fisherman who understands the habits of the fish and has the necessary skills to catch them.[25] As the leaf-ladened ropes of the *hukilau* net were pulled toward shore, men, women and children from the village helped to drive the fish into the net.[26]

The education of the children of chiefs and priests was different from that of the children of commoners in certain specialized subjects and, perhaps, in the amount of effort devoted to their education. However, every family would have had its own traditional and specialized knowledge: the grandmother who knew the art of healing, the uncle who carried on the family's fishing traditions, or the father who was the family expert in growing food crops. Parents were not the only teachers of children. Children of chiefs were nearly always given to others to raise. The sons and daughters of chiefs received additional education commensurate with their expected roles in society. John Papa 'I'i was born into a chief's family. He was trained from "earliest childhood for a life of service in the court of the high chiefs."[27] His father taught him all the things he had to know in order to survive in court. At the age of ten, 'I'i served as the companion and personal attendant of the young prince, Liholiho, who later became Kamehameha II. In his memoirs, 'I'i wrote that his mother had taught him how to paddle a canoe.[28]

At one stage, about the age of seven by modern reckoning, children were considered to have reached the "age of responsibility."[29] They were given specific tasks to perform related to family life. Children began making their contributions to daily family activities. In these and other situations, all older family members became the teachers of the children, particularly grandparents and the older children in whose care the younger ones were placed.[30]

Figure 3
Ka'awaloa Bay. Note canoes surrounding a school of fish. Drawing by Persis Thurston, engraved at Lahainaluna, circa 1840.

Children learned much from their parents. Sayings reveal the importance of the parent-child relationship: *Ka hana a ka makua, o ka hana no ia a keiki* / What parents do, children will do. *Ka 'ike a ka makua, he hei na ke keiki* / The knowledge of the parent is unconsciously absorbed by the child.[31] Samuel Kamakau's statement supports this relationship: "Parents before they died instructed their children, the sons to plant and fish, and the daughters to make and dye tapa and weave mats."[32] (See Figures 4 and 5)

Arriving at the "age of responsibility" might trigger the start of formal training. A child might be apprenticed to an expert outside the family, or a family elder takes on the primary responsibility to pass on his expert knowledge to a particular child. Hawaiian tradition teaches that a child should observe, listen and imitate:

I ka nānā no a 'ike / By observing, one learns.
I ka ho'olohe no a ho'omaopopo / By listening, one commits to memory.
I ka hana no a 'ike / By practice one masters the skill.

To this final directive was added: Never interrupt. Wait until the lesson is over and the elder gives you permission. Then—and not until then—*nīnau;* ask questions.[33]

As a child took up tasks that contributed to family life, a strong sense of meaningful participation in the social and economic life of the community developed. Everyone, even children, had a meaningful role in the everyday life of the family. A sense of self-worth was engendered as more and increasingly difficult tasks were mastered. Praising children was not customary, but acceptance of

Figure 4
Catching fish with large nets was the work of the men of a fishing village. Drawing by J. Feher, in *Hawaii: A Pictorial History*.

Figure 5
Kapa making was the work of women; a young girl learned the art from her mother. Drawing by J. Feher, in *Hawaii: A Pictorial History*.

the child's efforts by the tone of voice, or glance of eyes communicated approval.[34]

In a subsistence economy, everyone contributes to the welfare of the group. Productive work was respected; laziness was shameful.

> *E ho'ohuli ka lima i lalo* (The palms of the hands should be turned down) went the old saying. In other words, the upturned palm was idle; most tasks were done with grasping fingers and downward palm.[35]

When a boy reached the age of seven he was admitted to the men's eating house, *hale mua*. There he learned to recite prayers, *nā pule*, and his memory training was begun in earnest. Now the child was taught to memorize "ancient, chanted appeals to the deities."[36] The child thus established his own relationship with the gods. He learned from his elders what acts or omissions might offend the family's ancestral god, *'aumakua*, and what punishments might be inflicted by the *'aumakua* for his wrong behavior.

> Not only the names of *'aumakua* must be learned: their functions, dwelling places, and *kino lau* (changed forms) must also be known. *'Aumakua* might take the animal form of owl, shark, lizard, turtle, caterpillar, eel, mudhen, or the indigenous field mouse. Animal form might change again into plant form. The ancestor god who inhabited the *'opelu*, mackerel, might change to the lobelia plant, also called *'opelu*. Rocks might be merely sacred to a deity—but rocks might also be a deity.[37]

A boy's entrance into the *hale mua* with the men of the family was sometimes accompanied by a subincision operation. At this time the *kahuna* slit the foreskin, a rite symbolizing the passage of a male from childhood to manhood. A feast for relatives and friends might be held to celebrate the event.

There was a great deal to learn, and all of it by memory, particularly for the oldest child, *hiapo*, in the family. Much thought was given to the training of the *hiapo*, for this child would perform the leadership role and be the counselor of the family clan in future years. This child's education was a matter of great importance to the whole family. He would receive rigorous training from the family elders. This was true for the *hiapo* and the *punahele*, or favorite child selected for special attention. The experiences of Mary Kawena Puku'i as *punahele* illustrates the intensive training efforts of her grandmother:

> The grandparents went out of their way for the *punahele*. Teaching, teaching, teaching—all the time. I know because I was a *punahele*. Every day, Grandmother would quiz me: "Do you remember the place we went yesterday and the *'aumakua* who guards it?" And then, three days later, "Now, tell me again. What was the name of the *'aumakua*? How far does his *kuleana* extend?"
>
> I had to memorize all the family *'aumākua* by name. We had 50. I had to know which ones would help in a certain problem; which ones to call on in another kind of trouble. I memorized our family history. I learned what to do when a family member died, how to talk to quarreling members, and how *ho'oponopono* helped keep family harmony.[38]

Kamakau points out that usually a child of a *kahuna* family would be taught the profession of his parents or grandparents.[39] But, if for some reason the child's nature did not fit the requirements of the profession, another child would be selected to carry on the family tradition. Things had to be right, had to match, otherwise, it was believed that no good would come of it.

Once the decision was made, the effort to train the youth was serious and rigorous (see Figure 6).

There were strict rules connected with learning the art of healing. One first had to apprentice himself to an expert healer, *kahuna lapa'au*. The apprentice then had to be released from his family *'aumakua* before training could begin. The apprentice would then be placed under the guardianship of the *'aumakua* of his teacher's profession.[40]

> The pupils were taught the laws and rules of the practice until they obtained knowledge and skill, and if they listened to and observed these laws, the *'aumakua* of this medical art (*'aumakua lapa'au*) looked after them at the time of the *'ailolo*, the ceremony at the completion of their training.[41]

The first task was to learn the prayers to the gods concerned. "They were the foundation and the guide to knowledge and skill whereby a man learned to heal and to recognize the mysterious things inside a sick man."[42] "In the Hawaiian school of medical kahunas, the god was the foundation, and second came prayers. Third came schooling in the kinds of diseases; fourth, in the kinds of remedies; fifth, in the art of killing; and sixth, in the art of saving."[43]

Figure 6
A medical expert, *kahuna lapa'au*, taught his knowledge to a young apprentice. Drawing by J. Feher, in Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko, The People of Old.*

Figure 7
A *hālau hula*, hula school, of female dancers performed for the artist Louis Choris in 1816. Women wore their hair short and bleached around the forehead with lime. Note the anklets worn on the legs. In the background musicians supply the rhythm for the dancers with *la'au*, sticks, *pū ipu*, gourd drum, and *pūniu*, knee drum. Drawing by L. Choris, artist with the Kotzebue expedition that visited Hawai'i in November and December of 1816.

In the teaching of the art of hula by the dance expert, *kumu hula*, who had his own school, *hālau hula*, great emphasis was placed on the preparation of an altar, *kuahu*, dedicated to the deity of the *hula*, Laka, and its decoration with the plants representing the deity.

Strict rules governed the students' behavior, dress and personal care and cleanliness. Rules dictated what a student could and could not do. It was *kapu* to talk back to the *kumu hula*.

Before entering the *hālau* a person, student or visitor, had to chant a call, *mele kāhea*, giving the password for permission to enter the *hālau*. Someone from within responded with a chant giving permission to come in.[44]

Students learned the dance, the chant and many prayers. Concentration was enhanced by chanting prayers to Laka for inspiration, a good voice, a limber body, protection against sorcery and other requests.[45]

Hula dancing was practiced by chiefs and commoners (see Figure 7). It was done by both men and women.[46]

One of the *hula* masters is said to have instructed his pupils in a very interesting way, as recorded by Puku'i from her experience:

> Kapua would not give a line of *mele* to his pupils, nor would he instruct them just where this beat or that came in. He played on his instrument and chanted *mele* after *mele* for two hours every class night. It was up to the pupils to listen, learn the words and beat, and if they did not catch them, then it was their own fault for lack of concentration. The pupils had to beat on their gourds as long as he did. It was extremely difficult at first, but as time went by order came out of confusion of words and thumps till the pupils could distinguish one *mele* from another, and one type of gourd beat from another.[47]

A graduation ceremony, *'ūniki*, celebrated with feasting and a performance completed the training. The whole group of students performed together as a unit.

The most famous *hālau hula* is located at Kē'ē, Hā'ena, on the island of Kaua'i. It was there that Pele met Lohiau; that Hi'iaka danced when she went to bring Lohiau back to Kilauea for her sister, Pele. The ruins of the *hālau hula* platform at Kē'ē are still there and are used by modern hula masters and their classes from time to time. While traditional methods of teaching may have changed, many of the same values are being transmitted to *hula* students by some *kumu hula* today.

Perhaps the examples that summarize most clearly how children learned skills in Hawaiian society are the observations made by the Rev. William Ellis while he was traveling around the island of Hawai'i in 1824. He mentions the expertise of the Hawaiians in handling themselves in the ocean:

> As we crossed the head of the bay [Waimanu], we saw a number of young persons swimming in the surf, which rolled with some violence on the rocky beach.
>
> To a spectator nothing can appear more daring, and sometimes alarming, than to see a number of persons splashing about among the waves of the sea as they dash on the shore; yet this is the most popular and delightful of the native sports.
>
> There are perhaps no people more accustomed to the water than the islanders of the Pacific; they seem almost a race of amphibious beings. Familiar with the sea from their birth, they lose all dread of it, and seem nearly as much at home in the water as on dry land.
>
> There are few children who are not taken into the sea by their mothers the second or third day after their birth, and many who can swim as soon as they can walk.[48]
>
> Sometimes the greater part of the inhabitants of a village go out to this sport, when the wind blows fresh towards the shore, and spend the greater part of the day in the water. All ranks and ages appear equally fond of it.
>
> We have seen Karaimoku [Kalaimoku] and Kaioeva [Kaikioewa], some of the highest chiefs in the island, both between fifty and sixty years of age, and large, corpulent men, balancing themselves on their narrow boards, or splashing about in the foam, with as much satisfaction as youths of sixteen.[49]

Being so dependent on the ocean for food and transportation, Hawaiians had the need to acquire water skills early in life for survival. Whether swimming, bodysurfing, board surfing, or canoe surfing or sailing, the learning was always practical and the techniques acquired from earliest childhood. Of course, the seriousness of the goal never infringed on the joy that it brought its participants.

If one had to summarize the essential characteristics of education in Hawaiian society, the terms that come to mind are: practical, skill-oriented, socially-useful, in tune with reality, environmentally-aware, conserver-cognizant. Regarding the process of learning there seems to have been a strong emphasis on learning-by-doing—one might say, on-the-job learning—together with memorization and rote. All the while education was in process the participants were practicing socially-acceptable roles that were commensurate with their abilities; they were contributing members of society and accepted as such from the time they entered the "age of responsibility," and through that relationship achieved a positive self-image.

Today, after two hundred years of influence from the outside world, much of it negative, many young Hawaiians are reaching back to Hawaiian society in an effort to recapture a sense of social acceptance and self-esteem. Cultural rejuvenation is particularly strong in areas of language, dance, and agriculture. Recently, some attempts have been made in aquaculture. The most successful to date, however, has been the *hālau hula kahiko*. It is hoped that other aspects of Hawaiian culture also may prosper in the future and again provide the Hawaiian youth a positive self-image and sense of social acceptance.

The primary source for this article is Mary Kawena Pukui to whom the author is indebted. Her experiences and knowledge have been published in many books and articles, the most useful in this instance being *Nana I Ke Kumu: Look to the Source*, Volume 2, by M.K. Pukui, E.W. Haertig and C.A. Lee.

Marion Kelly is Associate Anthropologist with the Department of Anthropology, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

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Schoolhouse, Waiʻanae Plantation, Pōkaʻī Coconut Grove
Albumin print, ca. 1880
From Monsarrat Collection, Hawai'i State Archives

AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF SCHOOLING IN HAWAI'I

Ralph K. Stueber

Past and present are in themselves alike mysterious, but they mysteriously illuminate each other; and though things are never intelligible in themselves, they nevertheless make each other intelligible.

Herbert W. Schneider

In contemporary usage, the "school" is an institutional arrangement through which society deliberately and systematically seeks to influence the attitudes and values of its young members and seeks to develop in them knowledge, skills and dispositions to act in relation to the perceived needs and opportunities within that society.

The school history of Hawai'i from 1820 to 1898 presents somewhat of an exception to the general rule that the schools of a nation function to inculcate in its young the cultural values and beliefs to which the dominant elements of that nation are committed. From their missionary beginnings, Hawaiian schools were organized and operated by those who were not only alien to Hawaiian culture as it had been but who continuously and consistently denigrated this culture, asserting its inferiority to the cultures from which they, themselves, had derived.

In the eyes of those responsible for schooling, from the arrival of the Protestant missionaries in 1820 and throughout the remainder of the 19th century, the major function of the school was to supplement and implement the efforts of organized religious work to raise the Hawaiians from their alleged savagery and degradation and to help them pattern themselves as a people after their western teachers.

Even when the fervor of the missionary period declined, trade and politics dictated another western model from which that leadership derived the goals of the schooling process. Many of the leaders among Hawaiians, and later among immigrants, gave implicit—often explicit—support to the assumption of the superiority of western over native and immigrant cultures. The result was that, in a religious or secular sense, westernization was the primary goal toward which educational effort through schooling, from its 1820 beginnings, was directed. The tendency throughout had been to view schooling as the source of education geared to this westernizing acculturating process.

Not surprisingly, the legacy of schooling in Hawai'i is a legacy shaped by social and intercultural conflict and compromise, and by misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the social and cultural behaviors that have given character to the interplay of this archipelago's diverse cultures, languages and people. But there has been a creative element in this history as well.

On the one hand, schools often functioned to bridge cultural and language differences and to create a sense of community or common aspirations among those with common school experiences. From this perspective, and in the course of several generations, schooling enlarged and modified the particular historical, social and cultural context within which it operated. There were those with this common experience who came in time to understand that schooling was not only a process through which one became aware of and part of the patterns of life with which they were most closely in touch, but, in addition, a process of learning to avail themselves of experiences of other ways of life and thought, and how to integrate these experiences in the slow creation of a new way of life. From this perspective, values believed to be absolute were challenged and often changed.

On the other hand, schools functioned to lay the de facto foundation of class-segregated education and reinforce social class stratification, and laid the foundation of American cultural

hegemony, exclusiveness, and privateness through the strict representation and protection of white, Anglo-Saxon *(haole)** cultural and language standards. This function of schooling often opened the way to labeling those differing from these seemingly absolute standards, either by circumstance or choice, as "degenerate, foreign, local, disadvantaged," or in need of "remediation."

Taken as a whole, the school history of Hawai'i, viewed contextually, reveals scatterings of conflict and concensus over which personal, social, political, and ethical attitudes were believed important and capable of development. For better or worse, the consequences of schooling were rarely identical with their deliberate and persistent intent however systematically pursued; learners were not without direction of their own, neither was the value and importance of schooling self-evident to them.

Ethnic identification continues to provide a basis for forming social groups and attitudes; thus, we find in Hawai'i no simple notion of a single school system mirroring a unitary and homogeneous culture marked by concensus on values and skills of most worth, or upon a course of study best fitting social need and individual opportunity. In this respect, during the two centuries that Hawai'i has been in contact with the rest of the world, her peoples have experienced all the tensions, conflicts, and general heterogeneities which have marked western civilization for the last two thousand years. This time-dimension is telescoped in Hawai'i. Here it is possible to see developments in schooling take place over decades instead of centuries.

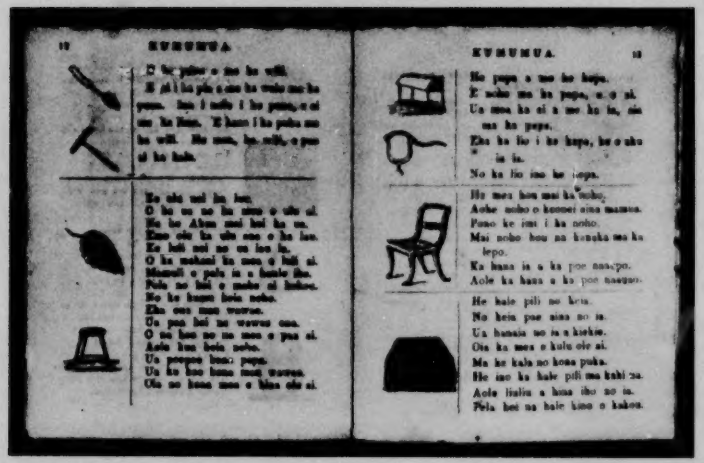
Some educational historians view all agencies of a society as educational in nature whether private or public, economic or

*Originally the Hawaiians called any foreigner *haole*. As more and more came, *haole* was used to designate all white persons and their ways. As the *haole* achieved economic, political, and social advantage, of which Hawaiians and Orientals were often resentful, the term connoted this resentment as well. A non-*haole* who adopted *haole* ways and, therefore, gained new privileges and advantages was often derided by other non-*haole* as being *haole*fied. To be "up there with the *haole*" meant that a non-*haole* had achieved a new social status or was acting pretentiously. When Hawaii was granted statehood in 1959, a Honolulu newspaper ran a headline declaring "we're all *haole* now." The implication intended was that all born in the Islands had now become full-fledged Americans. The term continues to designate a heritage of special privilege and, generally, specifies those with Caucasian physical characteristics.

Entrevue de l'Expedition de M. Kotzebue, avec le Roi Tammeamea, dans l'ile d'Ovayhi (Iles Sandwich)
Handcolored lithograph by Louis Choris, 1826
From Bishop Museum Library

Artist Louis Choris traveled to Hawai'i aboard the Russian ship *Rurick*, captained by Otto von Kotzebue. The view depicted in this lithograph is of Kamakahonu, Kamehameha I's last residence in Kailua, Hawai'i.

Choris describes the scene: " . . . at the audience he held for us, all took place with gravity and solemnity which we had not witnessed so far in the Great Ocean. It was easy to perceive that civilization had already made great progress at Ovoihi."



'O ka 'Ikemua, he palapala ia e a'o no aku ai i na kamali'i, i ka heluhelu 'ana a me ke 'ano no ho'i o na 'olelo e a lakou e heluhelu ai - The Primer, a book instructing children, in reading and in the meaning of the words they read
Sheldon Dibble
Mea Pa'i Palapala a na Misionari, Mission Press, 1837, 3rd edition
From Bishop Museum Library

political, national or local in scope. They examine into the "curriculum" of all such agencies in addition to that of the school. There is as yet no educational history of Hawai'i written from such a latitudinarian perspective, though we are generally aware that certain "configurations" of agencies—family, church or temple, work place, press, school—have had a more powerful educational influence when linked together around common attitudinal and conceptual aims than when fragmented one from the other as the result of unresolved conflicts over aims. The history of the shaping and re-shaping of such educational configurations on the one hand and their disruption and breakdown on the other, especially within native and immigrant experience, remains to be written. We will know more of the meaning of schooling and education in Hawai'i when this is done.

It may not be too strongly put to say, finally, that the absorption of native and immigrant into western configurations that educate in this broadened sense has been an exception of American imperialism. In any event, such hypotheses about schooling and education in this broadened sense are yet to be tested in the natural laboratory Hawai'i provides for such studies.

The Larger Historical Context of Schooling in Overview

Writers have called Hawai'i the "Crossroads of the Pacific" for good and ample reasons. Prior to 1778, the insular Hawaiians were united by a social system the keystone of which was a taboo or *kapu* system. Forty short years after the arrival of the *haole* the basis of power changed from a reliance on the supernatural *mana* to guns and cannons obtained from western traders; the *kapu* system was abolished. Traffic on the crossroads increased in volume. Traders, drifters and beachcombers, whalers, missionaries, merchants, and settlers filtered into the islands—and with them came fatal diseases. Traditional Hawaiian life lost its integrating element in the face of these convulsive events.

From the raw American nation bustling to create a new civilization came ideas of salvation and worldly utopian visions of change and progress, of manifest destiny, and the drive for Yankee money-making. From Asia, beginning during the latter half of the 19th century, came the greatest number to this island chain to work the plantations—many to return home, but most to remain and create, from their lowly origins and work, a new life. Altogether, these newcomers created a new social order, learned to accept and even celebrate diversity as a fact of life and found that Polynesians, Orientals, and Caucasians could, in time, achieve a level of harmony and a certain sense of community. In two centuries the essentially static Hawaiian social order of yesteryear came to be transformed into a dynamic and stress-generating plural society geared to world markets and national and global politics.

The *haole* brought and implemented a social outlook shaped by the early impact of industrialism, experience with constitutional government, and the idea of universal schooling. Some newcomers had a vision of raising the level of the common man; others were racists and elitists.

In 1893 American merchants in Hawai'i and US military forces carried out an illegal seizure of the Hawaiian government and established the Republic of Hawai'i, sometimes referred to as the "Dole Republic." This piece of gunboat diplomacy, rationalized by the doctrine of manifest destiny, put an end to any idea of Hawaiian self-determination; a reversal of earlier ideas.

The American flag rose over 'Iolani Palace, the seat of Hawaiian government, in 1898. After an American tutelage begun in 1820, Hawai'i became a state in 1959. The major step in the movement to statehood came during World War II when American soldiers of Japanese ancestry, through exploits of heroism and valor, finally removed the odium of racial prejudice and hatred heaped upon them previously.

Today, there is a willingness in the Islands to go beyond explanations of cultural development and directions for social change stemming from older 19th-century conceptions of "westernization," "Americanization," or the "civilizing mission." There is a willingness to experiment with cultural pluralism and cross-cultural or multicultural education as windows to within—as well as to without—these Islands' social and cultural life. This belief in the commitment to cross-cultural and multicultural education as a factor in cultural and social change, and global understanding and toleration, are now symbolized in the East-West Center's serving as a cultural crossroad.

The Early Hawaiians and the Coming of the Haole

The first Hawaiians are presumed to have migrated to Hawai'i from Polynesian islands in the South Pacific as early as 400 AD. Like all later emigres to these Islands, they brought with them a state of mind or outlook on life, essential implements and skills, values, gods, language (within which was set their oral tradition), and their Polynesian strain. These cultural elements altogether afforded the success of these "Vikings of the Pacific," which is attested to in the written account of early western explorers—beginning with Captain Cook, who found a highly-developed and orderly indigenous society of between 250,000 and 400,000 individuals.

Although lacking metals, a written language and the stimulus of contact with other peoples and products, the Hawaiians were by no means a simple stone-age people. An intricate *kapu* system gave order to their political system and their ecologically-balanced subsistence economy. Modern studies make increasingly evident that they were in possession of a substantial understanding of the ecology of their natural environment; that they studied and practiced an advanced form of what we would call psychiatric or psychological services, built of subtle inter-personal relationships, and were advanced in the expressive arts.

At the apex of their stratified society were the chiefs or *ali'i*; serving them were the *kāhuna* or priests and members of the professional, educational, and artisan class; and beneath both groups were the commoners or *maka'āinana* class, the people of the soil and sea. Their religion was polytheistic and through the powers of four main gods the priests extended the *kapu* system into all aspects of life and maintained the *ali'i* class in power and preserved the social status quo.

Their ethnology, their patterns and networks of social, political, economic, religious, and kinship systems provided the content and approach to teaching and learning. Learning was intimately woven into all activities of life, thus, from a contemporary perspective, sparing Hawaiian youth some of the evils of alienation, one result of irrelevant, formalistic, and over-abstract schooling. The young *maka'āinana* were introduced into the life of the village and kinship in some circumstances under the tutelage of the *kahuna*, but mainly through imitation of family elders. The young *ali'i*, under the tutelage of the *kahuna* and in more formal settings than provided for commoners, learned the strategies of politics, economics, warfare, and the rites and lore of religion. They also learned medicine, astronomy, navigation, surveying, the chiefly genealogies, sports and games, and the dance or *hula*. Then came contact with the outside world and tragedy close to the point of total despair and extinction.

Hawaiians eagerly traded pigs, produce, and fresh water for western goods, such as nails, upon first contact with Cook and other early explorers and traders. By 1800 every chief of significance had acquired at least one foreign advisor on matters of contact with the outside world. This early elevation and acceptance of the *haole* into positions of influence, power and prestige, and the early pattern of intermarriage of *haole* men and Hawaiian women established a pattern of race relations and miscegenation of major consequence in the Islands' history. While laying a basis for a new way of life the intruding *haole* were left to work it out with those Hawaiians who survived the physical, psychological and cultural devastation of organized life, the result of forty years of early contact with the outside. Into this setting came the American Protestant missionaries in 1820.

The American Missionary Era: 1820-1860

This particular missionary thrust was a mixture of resurgent Calvinist theology and evangelistic utopianism. Believing the world swept by a final torrent of evil before men's acknowledgement of God's glory and majesty, these New England stewards of the Lord took as their duty: service as the conscience of others. Their doctrine of disinterested and self-denying benevolence replaced the older Calvinist doctrine of predestination and was coupled with the belief that Christ had made redemption a possibility for all. Unmodified was the Calvinist belief that God divided people into two classes, the steward, or chosen class, and all others to be ruled over by the chosen class for the good of all and the greater glory of God. Creation of a Christian commonwealth with the Hawaiians was the mission of this elect group and, by belief, would require the dutiful submission of the unlearned to the leadership of the learned. Much of the Islands' subsequent development reflects this particular New England concept of education and of community or commonwealth.

This vision of a Biblical millenium faded in time and was replaced by new visions of destiny and "doing good." The solidarity of the mission-established, elite-American community lasted as missionary trusteeship extended beyond piety into areas of financial control, social order through schooling under western law, private property, and political action—including the revolution of 1892 which resulted in the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy.

The first missionary company reached Hawai'i in 1820, a most opportune time. Kamehameha the First had died the year before and his son, Liholiho (Kamehameha II), upon the insistence of Ka'ahumanu and his mother, Keōpūolani, abrogated the *kapu* system. These events were seen by the missionaries as the work of divine providence as they moved quickly into this Hawaiian religious and power vacuum. They dispersed themselves through the island chain and in less than two years had mastered the phonological and grammatical structure of the Hawaiian tongue and established a written form, and had begun their tutelage.

Their early schooling efforts fall into three rather distinct periods. The first extended roughly from 1820 to 1830 and consisted primarily of establishing a loosely-organized "system" of native schools taught by hurriedly and minimally trained native teachers (Hawaiian adults). In the course of the decade most Hawaiian adults became literate at a simple level, a remarkable educational achievement by any standard.

The *ali'i* monopolized the attention of the missionaries and thus set a pattern for class preference in schoolwork. The conversion of Queen Regent Ka'ahumanu in the early 1820s paved the way to the enactment of the Islands' first *haole*-influenced educational laws in 1824. So successfully was the law carried out that by 1831, 50,000 adult Hawaiians were attending over 1,000 native schools studying the three R's and a simple catechism. The chief's support was decisive.

The second period of school development took place during the 1830s and was characterized by a shift from schooling for adults to schooling for children and youth. From these early beginnings two kinds of native schools emerged: (1) "Common" schools—taught by a missionary-trained native teacher and attended by the children of commoners, and (2) "select" schools, taught by members of the mission directly and attended by a select group of native children of which we can assume many were of the chiefly class. The Hawaiian language, as rendered by the missionary or native teacher, was the medium of instruction in both types of schools.

Moral concerns were central to their schooling programs. The curriculum reflected a mixture of the Calvinistic theology and worldly asceticism expressed through work and delayed gratification, the teachings of "Poor Richard," and other lessons formed in the hardy New England environment and carried to Hawai'i. The mission included not only ministers and wives, but also doctors, mechanics, printers, farmers, and teachers; all played a vital role in the educational effort; all constituted, in their view, moral capital.

Literacy linked to morality and skills in the practical arts, as defined in the New England context, was the heart of the school program. Austerity in and out of school was the mission's prescription for their perception of native "indolence" and "sinfulness." The hope of Hawaiians, their mentors concluded, lay in the development of the "virtue of industry," that is, a cultivated sense of striving to overcome unworthiness and sinfulness, and of a learned acceptance of authority and external direction. Religion was not divorced from the daily duties of family, school, and village, rather, these duties were infused with religious teachings.

The regeneration of individual Hawaiians was seen by the mission as linked to the overall regeneration of Hawaiian society, transformed ultimately into a western society with all its institutional forms. In a "Memorial" of 1836 the missionaries prophetically argued that unless the Hawaiian became competent in meeting and competing with the *haole* on *haole* grounds they would, in time, become exiles in their own land.

Hilo Boarding School, Hilo, Hawai'i
Copper engraving by Kepohoni, ca. 1840
From Bishop Museum Library

The Hilo Boarding School was established in 1836 by the Reverend David Lyman as a manual arts school for boys and as a preparatory school for Lahainaluna Seminary.

The grass huts in the center are the school, with missionary family houses on either side: the Coan houses on the left and the Lyman house and dispensary on the right.

The Lahainaluna High School on the island of Maui and the Hilo Boarding School on the island of Hawai'i were founded to prepare male teachers, minister's aides, government agents, and other persons requiring "secondary" level schooling in the work of this "civilized mission." Boarding schools for females were begun on each of the major islands in which were taught literacy, morality, and domestic arts and where suitable wives for mission-educated Christianized Hawaiian men were produced. Christian families and Christian virtues of industry were all intended to be integrally related, but the mission's moral capital was not presumed abundant enough for general undifferentiated distribution or investment; select schools, as these were, had a selecting function.

Additional select schools of the mission were established for three additional groupings of youth. The O'ahu Charity School was founded in Honolulu for half-caste children born of the union of native women and *haole* men, many of whom were sea captains and merchants. The Chief's Children's School, later known as Royal School, was founded to uplift and educate the young chiefs and future monarchs of the kingdom. Punahou School, known also as O'ahu College for a time, was created to educate the ever-increasing number of missionary children as well as a select number of other *haole* youth for whom a classical education was reserved. These three "independent" schools were taught in English and by the missionaries themselves or mission-related teachers. Punahou became the keystone in the arch of missionary work.

The founding of Punahou was essentially in response to three major interrelated mission concerns: (1) the felt need to shield mission children from the "corrupting" influence of the Hawaiian tongue, (2) to prepare for the ever-increasing possibility that missionaries and their offspring would become permanent residents of the Islands for which permanent institutional provision of an American community would be required, and (3) to safeguard mission children from the sexual attitudes and practices of the Hawaiians.

The third period of early school development was closely related to the founding of native churches and Christianized families, the expansion of the press, and developments in the Islands' political economy. This period culminated in the inclusion of the common schools, some of which were the result of French Catholic missionary effort during the late 1830s, within the responsibility of the Hawaiian government. Given their zeal for ideological unity, social order, and their strong antipathy for Catholicism, it is not surprising that this course of action was strongly supported and influenced by the American missionaries.

The development of government sponsored schooling laid a foundation for island education equal in significance to the earlier founding of the principle of universal literacy. It was not a part of the missionary heritage to force the issue of separation of church and state. These two foundations now joined as the government's obligation for universal schooling became a legacy that was to be strongly contested during the plantation era when government support for education beyond the simple rudiments was thought dangerous to the profits and growing hegemony of the planter elite.

The Armstrong Era: 1848-1860

By mid-century, as old Hawaiian ways had increasingly lost their meaning or had been moved aside, there emerged the clear outlines of a new social order in which the *haole* representatives of both religious and commercial callings rose together to positions of uncontested influence and power in the kingdom. The victory of New England culture over Hawaiian culture was evident everywhere.

Haole influence had brought about the downfall of the land tenure system which for centuries had kept the *ali'i* class in power and through which Kamehameha I had brought virtually all Hawaiians under his control. In its place there developed the laws and protections of private land ownership and a highly influential land lease arrangement. Communal life died with the passage of the undivided use-rights land system.

Through a series of missionary inspired or related acts, Hawai'i's monarchical government incorporated western political, legal, and economic rights; again the stated benefactors, with the "proper cultivation" of attitudes and competencies to match, were to be the remnant of a once-proud people.

By 1848, David Malo, Lahainaluna graduate and the Islands' first government superintendent of education, and Reverend William Richards, his successor, had helped create the broad outlines of the monarchy's role in schooling. Then between 1848 and 1860, Reverend Richard Armstrong worked tirelessly as superintendent to codify the school laws and procedures that were to give direction to government schooling well into the 20th century. He pleaded, with some success, for the development of governmental, industrial and agricultural bureaus through which to articulate and expand the educative and restorative role of family, church, press, and school. These formal developments were a major advance over the simple favors that Armstrong's missionary successors had less formally won from various chiefs.

Increasingly, Armstrong heard pleas from Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians alike to change the language of school instruction from Hawaiian to English. Since trade and politics were increasingly being conducted in English, Armstrong secured a law establishing a small number of government English select schools throughout the kingdom on a trial basis. Parents paid half the cost, the government the other half. These were expensive schools compared to the vernacular schools because to secure instruction in English almost always required hiring *haole* teachers who commanded higher salaries. These quasi-independent schools attracted students from the more money-oriented Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian families, and youth in frequent contact with English speakers. A debate raged for nearly a decade over whether or not these select schools for what might be called an emerging western middle class would, through this class identification, undermine the last major vestige of Hawaiian culture and morale, the Hawaiian language. The missionaries concluded that on a day-school basis these select schools were failures; boarding schools would be needed if the use of English as the primary language was the outcome of schooling being sought for a select group.

Richard Armstrong
Carte-de-visite
From Bishop Museum Photograph Collection
Rev. Armstrong was the primary shaper of the public school system under the Hawaiian monarchy.

Government education took on the following characteristics under Armstrong's leadership: (1) machinery was set up by which government English schools could gradually displace Hawaiian vernacular schools—which they did, (2) the government assumed the financial responsibility for each child enrolled in a vernacular school and half the cost of the English schools—in the 1880s the government assumed the full cost, (3) the government maintained the pattern of serving, first and better, the educational aspirations of the upper levels of the social hierarchy, (4) the government provided direct grants to "private" select schools only nominally under governmental control and allowed the continuation of some government sectarian schools according to the wishes of the parents involved, and (5) economic incentives for teachers favored English speakers; vernacular schools, consequently, languished. Honolulu, then, became the center for English instruction and usage.

Schooling Under the Early Plantation Economy

Hawai'i became a multi-ethnic, polyglot society as a direct result of the labor recruitment policies of the plantation economy. In time, five major agencies, "The Big Five," centralized the sugar industry in Honolulu, handling the capital, scientific, technical, and managerial needs as well as the political needs of the system. Four million dollars had been invested in sugar by 1872; by 1892 the figure had risen to 32 million, then to 85 million shortly after annexation in 1898, and to 150-175 million prior to the economic collapse of 1929. Hawai'i became one of the world's wealthiest communities. The distribution and use of this new wealth was essentially a private matter.

The mission of the planter elite, of which a substantial segment was of American missionary stock, was believed to manifest itself through the doctrine of Anglo-Saxon cultural superiority and racial supremacy and under the guidance of divine destiny. American-Anglo Saxon-Protestant civilization was believed by its bearers to be the die intended by God to shape the peoples of the earth—not excluding the hordes of Asian laborers that had been recruited to work the fields and mills of the sugar barons. Capitalism had turned poverty from a virtue to a vice, and God was now believed to favor the rich in their stewardly function.

Although the plantation system created a master/servant relationship between *haole* and non-*haole*, and although educational aims were influenced by the burgeoning new agricultural economy, both government and independent schools were maintained according to earlier precedents through the close of the century and until the findings of the US Bureau of Education, *Survey of Education in Hawaii*, were published in 1920. Although the large number of immigrant children was not a factor in schooling at the turn of the century, this changed by the 1920s. In the meantime the conviction grew in high places that the Hawaiians could not avoid extinction as a people without the influsion of "new blood."

When Armstrong established the first government English school he could not have dreamed that within two generations the population of Hawai'i would be predominantly Oriental and that the *haole* economy would demand a labor force obedient to command and able to endure the rigors of heavy physical labor, the heat of the sun, and essentially inhumane living circumstances. Neither could he have foreseen that pidgin English, evolved out of the make-shift language of early Oriental-*haole* contact in Asia, would fundamentally complicate the process of transforming Hawai'i into an English-speaking, Christian-American community. It is well to remember that American annexation had been seriously considered as early as the 1850s; now bets were off.

The latter half of the 19th century saw the development of what may be called the last fruits of overall Christian missionary effort, now including French-Catholic, English-Anglican and American-Mormon endeavors—in addition to the predominant American-Protestant efforts.

Sharper distinctions between government and independent schools became evident as appeals for government aid to religious schools grew in number and kind. A major effect of sharpening this public/private distinction was the further development of private resources and their selective use for independent or private schools.

Government common schools operated from an open admissions policy which spread its resources according to the requirement of the compulsory attendance. The American ideal of all youth attending school in common as a means to the development of shared values was breached by the social stratification inherent in the plantation system. In this sense it is an error to equate government schooling with public schooling as an American ideal.

The Catholics established a system of parochial common schools as well as founding St. Louis College, Sacred Hearts Academy, and Maryknoll in Honolulu and some secondary-level schools on islands other than O'ahu. The British Anglicans were notable in founding 'Iolani School and St. Andrews Priory. The American missionaries supported the development of the Kamehameha Schools, the Kohala Boys School and Kohala Seminary (for girls) and Mid-Pacific Institute. Through his marriage to Bernice Pauahi in 1850, Charles R. Bishop gave his name to the largest private land holdings in the Islands. Pauahi was a descendant of Hawaiian chiefs and thousands of acres of chiefs' lands were willed to her before she died. The income from her estate supports the Kamehameha Schools for select Hawaiian youth which, in part, drew their origins from Lahainaluna and Hilo Boarding School.

Schooling Under the Territorial Government

To a great degree, annexation was justified by the United States government based upon the role Americans had played in establishing American institutions in Hawai'i during the 19th century. American territories had, of course, been the mode of expansion of the American frontier. The US Congress praised the work of the American missionaries and their descendants and concluded that American institutions were securely enough established and capable of sufficient expansion to warrant territorial status and the promise of eventual statehood.

Two things were clear: (1) the schools, government and private, would play a major role in Americanization, and (2) progress made in the spread of English would be one of the surest measures of Americanization.

The drive to secure and expand the values inherent in its own way of life continued to guide America's behavior in Hawai'i. This drive lay behind the milestones of 19th-century Hawaiian history and now the gathering and shaping of Orientals to fit into the American framework was to be played out—guided by that view of history. American overseas evangelism of the period was typified by President William McKinley's explanation of his action in seizing the Philippines: ". . . I went down on my knees and prayed almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night it came to me this way—that there was nothing left for me to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellowmen for whom Christ also died." American imperialism meant that education, whether in the Philippines or in Hawai'i, had inevitably become involved in dollar diplomacy and direct conquest. The plantation system made Hawai'i a virtual colony.

Unlike the American South's planter society, the plantation workers in Hawai'i were more successful than the slaves in transporting many of the elements of their own ways to Hawaiian soil and, when children came, they were strongly influenced accordingly. The period before 1920 was mainly a time during which cultural transplanting by immigrants took place; major cross-cultural interaction took place later. This transplanting of cultures and languages was seen by Americanizers as interfering with the assimilation of immigrants into patterns of thinking and acting judged by them to be "American." There was a kind of double bind for immigrants: to the extent they employed their own historic ways as means to stepping out into American patterns they were accused of undermining Americanization.

The non-*haole* immigrants were neither able to pass along to their young their culture and language without modification, nor able, or willing, to see their young taken solely into the culture and language of the Americanizers. This was especially the case with the early Japanese immigrants who fully intended to return to Japan once their earnings afforded them that chance.

There were some Americanizers, many of whom were educators, who lived by the ideal that immigrants were to be treated as moral equals, but in the matter of seeking parity in educational opportunity for immigrant children it was not until after 1920 that concerted progress was made in that regard. The seeming contradiction was that Americanization, including planter reliance upon a domestic labor force and an American standard of elementary and secondary public education, and the sugar enterprise, could not prosper side by side and be mutually beneficial. The lines between private and public became sharper.

In both public and private schools, annexation had made the *haole*/non-*haole* distinction sharper. The diffusion of *haole* knowledge, attitudes and skills, including English language skills, and the techniques and opportunities for integrating them into the lives of non-*haole* children, were in large measure dependent upon the discovery or creation of incentives for which individuals would undergo the necessary efforts to add new cultural and linguistic dimensions to their lives. The play of western individualism and privatism and oriental ethnic solidarity left many conflicts and contradictions to fester in the form of prejudice and racism. Could schools contribute to the creation of an organized and articulate public sector when private-sector schooling carried the greater prestige and resources?

In general, a basic incentive was the degree of freedom with which the non-*haole* could, when ready, enter into a new life by the adoption and employment of American religious, educational, business, and political practices. By and large, non-*haole* students who attended private schools or remained in schools longest not only reflected a greater incentive for assimilating knowledge, skills, and English as offered, but also put to the test the extent to which the non-*haole* would be welcomed into the American community. Young Orientals learned quickly, but the plantation provided few opportunities for the power, security, dignity, status, or other desirable circumstances in Island society to which schooling might lead. Yet they persisted, taking quiet advantage of the opportunities offered. Eventually they came to create their own.

The plantation labor system was not designed to provide a common basis, for the bright and dull, the ambitious and lazy, the young and old, the daring and conservative, and the adventurous and timid, upon which to build a more satisfying way of life. But the plantation labor system did provide a common basis for resistance and the generating of unrest, social protest and labor strikes. This common identity became a powerful political factor in the post-World War II period and presumably schooling was an important enabling factor.

The more schools were able to prepare young people with the desire and capacity to assume social and work roles requiring specialized and technical components of the *haole* industrial and technological culture the less appealing traditional ways of plantation life became. Also, the more schools proved successful in this regard the less the non-*haole* relied upon their traditional ways and the less they accepted *haole* claims to superiority and the right of the *haole* to rule Hawai'i. Secondary schooling was to accelerate this process.

Vaughan MacCaughey was appointed superintendent of the territorial Department of Public Instruction in 1919 and with his appointment great changes in schooling as a territorial government responsibility were begun. The experiences of youth and the social significance of the curriculum to economic, social, and political events in Hawai'i became the basis for schooling. MacCaughey was openly critical of the way in which the territorial government schools reflected, rather than prepared to alter, the stratified plantation society of Hawai'i. It was his expectation that children of agricultural workers could best be assimilated into American life by developing the schools' course of study around the ways in which they made their living and might improve their daily lives.

Anticipating a strong movement to develop universal public secondary education, he urged modification of the academic and formal literary emphasis so prevalent in secondary education under the administration of his predecessors. He made room for a curriculum he believed had social, communal, and industrial significance. A multi-ethnic adolescent peer culture developed serving to pry youth away from ancestral values.

World War I produced nationalistic and linguistic chauvinism when coupled with the ill-will generated among island industrial leaders against the Japanese for their part in labor organization and strikes against the planters. This chauvinism had direct repercussions upon territorial schooling, especially in reference to English and the Japanese language schools. Failure to establish standard English usage was, in the minds of the Americanizers, directly linked to the prevalence of the foreign language schools, most of which were Japanese language schools.

The *haole* middle-class, supported by the recommendations made in the exhaustive 1920 Federal Bureau of Education survey of the Islands' schools, pressured the territorial government into segregating the public school system on the basis of English usage. The ostensible motive was to promote English rather than to isolate their own children from the "corrupting" influences of the non-*haole*. Tied to segregation was an abortive attempt to abolish the Japanese language schools. Both efforts strained race relations to near the breaking point.

The Rise of the English Standard School System

A territory-wide system of select public schools, which came to be called English Standard Schools, came into existence during the 1920s. Unlike the government select English schools of the Kingdom period, the English standard schools were entirely supported by the government and attended, at first, almost entirely by the *haole*. This marked the first time that *haole* children attended public schools in large numbers. The *haole* community controlled nearly all of the taxable wealth of the Islands and school policymakers concluded that if the middle-class *haole* could find public schooling acceptable for their children it would have the long-range effect of raising the financial support for public education in general. This was an important step in public sector development.

Roosevelt High School
Photograph, 1939
From Roosevelt High School
Theodore Roosevelt High School was established in 1930 as an "English standard" school, created expressly to meet the needs of many *haole* parents who felt that good English speech training and a higher social standard were not available in the public schools. In addition to Roosevelt High School, the English standard school system included Lincoln Elementary and Junior High in Honolulu, Leilehua Elementary in rural O'ahu, Standard Elementary on Maui, and Hilo Standard Elementary in Hilo. The 1949 Legislature ended the dual-standard system calling for continued adjustments "until all schools of the Territory have been raised to the level of a single standard system."

The territorial Department of Public Instruction was funded directly through legislative enactment to provide equal financial support to all public schools in the Islands. Building and maintenance costs were county obligations. Here was a feature of Island education not found elsewhere in the United States; public education was not fiscally separated from other governmental responsibilities. This form of fiscal management applied to the English standard schools as well. This shift to segregating public schools, coupled with the subsequent move to markedly broaden the opportunities for secondary schooling, was a clear sign that Hawai'i was both protecting and developing a middle-class society—but not yet a society in which the non-*haole* were represented in proportion to their numbers.

To the charge that the English standard schools were evidence of bias and prejudice by the *haole* against the non-*haole*, the general *haole* response was that segregation was based upon language usage, not race, and that a model American standard school system was essential to the Americanization process. It was the Japanese language schools that were viewed by the Americanizers as restricting English usage and hence denying their children possible admission to the standard schools. Perhaps more fundamental was the widespread use of pidgin English which, when coupled with the attitudes toward the plantation working class, produced the strongest "defense" of a segregated public school system as an Americanizing endeavor.

The Japanese Language Schools

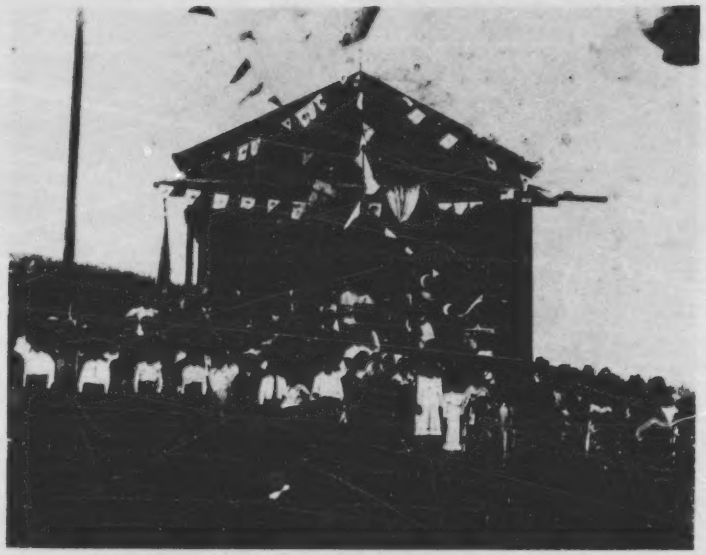
In its struggle to gain acceptance and a place among the Islands' people the Japanese community never accepted the *haole* belief that the right-to-rule belonged to the *haole*. Buddhist temples, Shinto shrines, teahouses, formal gardens, a Japanese language press, Japanese language schools, a developing Japanese professional and business community, and the family system all served to stabilize and give continuity to the Japanese sense of pride and exclusiveness and as a base of strength and development as they moved out into the wider society.

Once the Japanese children were old enough to attend public schools they became caught up in a cultural tug-of-war. The initial and major contact with *haole* ways was through the school curriculum, but the theatre, commercial houses, and major newspapers also gave exposure to a different pattern of life and Japanese school children came to question their belief in parental infallibility. The Japanese language schools were primarily maintained to ease the tension between first and second generation Japanese and to slow the process of assimilation which would otherwise separate children from their parents, culturally and linguistically.

Between the time when immigrant Japanese looked upon Hawai'i as a temporary place of work and the time when its majority accepted the fact that they would remain permanently, the Japanese schools underwent a change in basic purpose. While formerly Japanese language schools prepared children for re-entering Japanese society, much as in the current case with American military dependent's schools, they changed their orientation to providing continuity between generations during the Americanization process.

In 1919, the year in which the federal commissioners began their survey, there were 163 Japanese language schools with an enrollment of 20,000 and a teaching corps of 450, almost totally made up of teachers coming from Japan. In 1922 the territorial legislature passed an act to control and, in effect, defeat the intent of the Japanese schools. The act was contested vigorously by the Japanese community and in 1927 the US Supreme Court ruled the act unconstitutional. By 1930 a more conciliatory official attitude toward the schools was evident.

On the eve of World War II the Japanese schools enrolled more than eighty percent of all Japanese children. They were almost entirely children of first-generation parents. In 1940 there were 95,000 second-generation Japanese under twenty-five years of age. It was this group, educated in both the public schools and the Japanese language schools, that became predominant in the social and political transformation of Hawai'i after the war.



Schoolhouse in Cane Fields
Photograph, ca. 1907
From Bishop Museum Photograph Collection
The schoolhouse shown here was in Pā'auhau on the Big Island.

Decline in Importance of the English Standard and Japanese Language Schools

Whereas the aims of the Japanese language schools changed as the Japanese looked increasingly to Hawai'i as their home and accommodated to American institutions, their clientele remained entirely Japanese. In comparison, the aims of the English standard schools remained constant while the composition of its clientele changed. For example, between 1925 and 1932 oriental children at Lincoln School, a Honolulu standard elementary school, never comprised more than seven percent of the total enrollment. By 1939 this percentage had risen to seventeen. At Stevenson Junior High School ten percent of the students were oriental in 1929. By 1939 this percentage had doubled and by 1943 one-third of the students enrolled were oriental. Here was a form of bilingual education divided into private and public sectors, and not an unusual American phenomenon.

The English standard schools obviously protected both the speech habits and the preferred position in the Islands' stratified society of those who spoke standard English as their first language. But the great majority of non-*haole* youth completed their schooling without much intimate peer contact with those who spoke only standard English.

The decision whether to maintain Hawai'i in a state of racially stratified, colonial-like dependency, or to move her forward toward becoming an integrated and socially mobile American community, insofar as the role of public education was at issue, could not be postponed after the federal survey of 1920 was completed and published. Had Hawai'i not implemented the federal survey recommendations, it would have continued a system of schools focused almost entirely at the elementary level, taught by teachers generally without collegiate-level professional training, and offering a course of study rigidly formal and generally inappropriate and unappealing to Island youth. The major struggle to extend genuine educational opportunities would revolve around the non-standard schools. The select system of English standard schools, assumed to be comparable with mainland American standards both in language

usage and in the scope of the course of study, would continue but not as a predominant model in the public sector. *De facto* school segregation remained everywhere apparent.

Implementing the Recommendations of the Federal Survey

Governor Wallace R. Farrington took office in 1921 and with the help of a succession of capable and hard-working superintendents the major recommendations of the federal survey were put into effect by 1930.

Mass public secondary education became a reality for the first time during the decade of the 1920s. In 1920 there were four public high schools scattered throughout the Territory. By 1930 there were nine, plus seventeen new junior high schools. In this ten-year span the number of students enrolled in grades seven through twelve increased from 4,719 to 19,700, a 315 percent increase! In 1932 the number of first graders in the public schools was approximately the same as it had been in 1920, but while there had been a mere 164 senior students in the public schools in 1920 this number grew to 1,537 by 1932.

The Department of Public Instruction brought about equally radical changes in the curriculum during the 1920s. Farrington figured that if agricultural yields in sugar and pineapple could be increased through deliberate research the same would hold true in education. With his support the Department of Public Instruction established a division of research and opened the Kawānānākoa Experimental School. The objective of the experimental school was to test and apply progressive education methods and curricular theory in Hawai'i in much the same fashion as progressive education was being spread throughout the mainland United States.

Kawānānākoa fused social, occupational, and cultural education with philosopher John Dewey's functional psychology and philosophy of democracy. Like Dewey and his University of Chicago experimental school staff, Kawānānākoa principal George Axtelle, a Dewey scholar, hoped that he and the progressive educators of Hawai'i could bridge the gap between the environment of the schoolroom and the environment that field, sugar mill and urban Honolulu presented.

Automotive Mechanics Class, Hilo High School
Photograph, ca. 1920
From Hawai'i State Archives
Hilo High School was established in 1905 as the second public high school in Hawai'i. In the 1920s the secondary schools began to emphasize vocational training in their curriculum.

Farrington took every opportunity to show that schools were not working to the disadvantage of sugar interests, but, unlike the Hawaiian chiefs a century earlier, the sugar barons had little enthusiasm for mass education, at least at the secondary level. Axtelle taught his Kawānānākoa experimental school teachers that reading, writing, arithmetic, and oral English were tools to be acquired as the means to the solution to real social problems. The "life occupations engaged in" by mankind became the focus of curricular concerns. Axtelle and his staff thought that habits of criticism, deliberation and judgement, the willingness and skill to assume the responsibilities of democratic social behavior, and the aesthetic union of the laborious and the enjoyable aspects of every activity, could best be achieved by students, both now and in the future, if "life occupations" were the focus of curricular design. This, of course, exaggerated the possible influence of the school much in the fashion of the American missionaries a century earlier, but reform enthusiasm was common to progressive and missionaries.

The Islands' progressives maintained a stronghold in experimental secondary schooling at McKinley High School where they believed that vocational activities serving as "organizing centers" were springboards of the study of their larger meaning in family, community, and world affairs. To this extent, studies were intended to be cultural and liberal rather than simply vocational. Progressives laid heavy stress upon creating a school atmosphere which would reproduce without harm the psychological qualities surrounding non-school interests and activities, and they used these psychological qualities as a guide to the identification of genuine student problems around which to build the activity and experience-centered school program.

Hawai'i's centralized school system allowed for the rapid dissemination of this "new education." In cooperation with the school department's Division of Research and the Territorial Normal School, curriculum study groups sprang up throughout the Territory involving more than one-third of the teaching force. The Islands' businessmen applauded this "new education" for what they thought to be its predominantly vocational orientation.

Following the federal commissioner's recommendations, teacher education was placed upon a collegiate basis in the early 1920s. In 1931 the Territorial Normal School, following belatedly the mainland pattern, became the Teacher's College of the University of Hawai'i, which had been founded in 1907.

These revolutionary developments in education did not come about without bitter disagreements between the Americanizers and planters. Educators and industrialists found little agreement on the proper emphasis to place on education. The *haole* elite had designed its industrial order to promote profits rather than humaneness. Not for a minute did it doubt that all other interests flowed from the interests of the sugar economy. In typical fashion, and in the face of efforts to develop a domestic labor force, 125,000 Filipinos were recruited as cheap labor rather than improve working conditions so that Island-born youth would be attracted to plantation work.

In spite of Farrington's emphasis upon the vocational aspects of schooling, in his interpretation of progressive reform, the sugar industrialists of Hawai'i concluded by 1930 that educational developments were based upon unrealistic expectations of government. These leaders made a vigorous attempt to readjust the school expansion at the secondary level to fit the economy as they preferred it. But those leaders in the wider community who had the vision of modeling Hawai'i along the American middle class and eventually along democratic lines, and who believed in the doctrine of equality of opportunity, regardless of race, creed, or color, in effect, won the day.

The forces favoring expansion of educational opportunity were not checked. By 1940 Hawai'i had 23 high schools and student enrollments in these schools jumped to 16,105. The entire school curriculum increasingly took on mainland American standards and expectations.

In spite of the dramatic expansion of educational opportunities in and out of school, "pidgin English," now increasingly a dialect of English, continued to set the non-*haole* and *haole* educationally apart and to also create stress within the non-*haole* or "local" population. Remedies for the problem of English dialect interference in the development of standard English speech and thought came forth in greater number than did sophisticated diagnoses of this problem.

Dr. John Reinecke, student of marginal languages, suggested that the timidity, uncertainty, and confusion often reflected in and through the speech of many Island youth might be the result of children having to learn two languages at once in a social context of sharp economic and class lines and loyalties between dialect and standard English speakers. Reinecke strongly proposed that the alleviation of linguistic confusion or conflict would require alleviation of economic and class stratification. Pidgin, in effect, served as an identity point of the non-*haole*, "local," and lower-class folks; while standard English was a badge of middle-class, urban, and managerial people.

The shift toward an activity-centered curriculum lifted formalism and rote learning from the classroom and encouraged freer expression, less pre-judgement of student's expression, and allowed free interaction among students in the classroom. But not all teachers took such a view. It was not uncommon to find educators referring to pidgin as a "contagious infection," a "mongrel tongue" or a crude and base attempt to give expression to mere urges or impulses. The pidgin "problem" masked deeper feelings of prejudices and fears and it was not until after World War II that the science of linguistics, knowledge of social linguistics and improved speech education programs were brought to bear on the deeper issues of the pidgin "problem."

For ethnic, economic, linguistic, and educational reasons, the Islands' peoples classified themselves by ethnicity, more so than by occupation, income, or individual educational attainment, until well beyond the World War II era. Ethnic group goals and the language for their expression were far more dominant than goals of multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and multi-vocational character, as encouraged by occupational, professional, and political identities expressed in standard English.

Schooling in Post-War Hawai'i

War accelerated the forces for social change on every front. In the place of the Republican party's political monopoly, a two-party system emerged and then lapsed into Democratic party domination. Republicanism could not shake off the stigma of its planter-elite heritage. In the place of total managerial domination and hegemony over island industry, there developed a strong collective bargaining movement in post-war Hawai'i. The cloud of *haole* suspicion and mistrust of the Japanese, which had hung over the Japanese community, lifted as American soldiers of Japanese ancestry returned from the war as heros. The preferred educational and job status of the *haole* changed radically, in fact to the point of charges of Japanese discrimination against others from their new positions of power and influence. In general, post-war Hawai'i took on the characteristics of an open society. Honolulu and the island of O'ahu accounted for nearly four-fifths of the total population. This new and complicated change-oriented society quickly became an urban complex out of its earlier agricultural-rural makeup. This new society required a higher degree of organization and standardization of behavior in home, school, work place, government and language than had been necessary in a much slower-paced, pre-war Island society.

The war era was painful under military rule, later judged unconstitutional and extremely punitive. Island Japanese, however, were not removed to concentration camps in proportion to California's Japanese-Americans. Island children were called upon in school campaigns to rid themselves of all "foreign" characteristics and to draw together in a common commitment to Americanism. Thousands of Island homes opened their doors to servicemen and servicewoman as Islanders and service personnel alike took the opportunity to enlarge their social and cultural perspectives.

War conditions brought about changes in the English standard schools. Over 1,800 *haole* children were withdrawn and evacuated to the mainland. By 1946 the proportion of *haole* children fell to half of what it had been in 1941. In 1944 *haole* children numbered only 21 percent of the total. The oriental segment in the meantime climbed to 35 percent. The Hawaiians, part-Hawaiians, Portuguese and other smaller ethnic groups counted together for 56 percent. Many of the early advocates of the standard schools were proved correct in their assumption that in time the standard schools would be attended by a cross-section of all Island youth, but of course they could not have foreseen World War II consequences in Island life. In 1948 the territorial legislature mandated that no longer were any first-grade children to begin as standard school students. By 1960 the last seniors graduated from Roosevelt High School as standard school students. It is interesting to note that the final achievement of a non-segregated common public school system coincided with the achievement by the Territory of statehood.

All Japanese language schools were immediately shut down following the attack on Pearl Harbor and their properties were confiscated. Japanese teachers and priests constituted the main body of those Island Japanese shipped to mainland internment camps until the war's end. Thousands of second-generation Japanese came of age in the war era and during the post-war period saw little point in attempting the re-establishment of these schools. Today they play a very minor role in Island schooling.

The independent or private schools have maintained a role in the 1920s and 1930s very similar to that in effect at the time of annexation. In the post-war period, the major private schools—Punahou, 'Iolani, Kamehameha, St. Louis, and Mid-Pacific, all Honolulu schools—shifted their function increasingly to college preparation. Marked social and academic distinctions continued to exist between these private schools and the public schools although college preparation also became a function in one degree or another as the period of statehood had its impact and as public schools were all expected to function as English standard schools.

Much rhetorical and some real political egalitarianism and economic democracy replaced oligarchical paternalism; economic and social mobility became possible to a degree unimagined by Islanders a few years earlier. The old family ties, the ethnic and class identification, the tradition-bound religions and ethics counted for less and less in the new prosperity. In the more remote communities some of the "old Hawai'i" survives, but essentially Hawai'i has become engulfed in the mainstream of American and international life.

Facing the Future

This informal study suggests that, overall, the historical conduct of schooling in Hawai'i has been directed and given meaning by an ethnocentric view of the past and by a corollary, "cultural assimilation." It is generally agreed upon by those who have thought and written and participated directly in Island school policymaking from a broad social and cultural perspective that those students whose outlook and behavior have been fundamentally shaped by schooling to an approved standard have acquired an orientation to life directed by the values of the economic and political leaders of Hawai'i.

Out of this directing value framework, schooling has emerged the major determiner of Hawai'i youths' life's chances, especially as American welfare state ideals and practices break like the surf over older insular Island school policies and practices. During the post-World War II period the direction and meaning of schooling have been sharpened by the welfare state provisions for equality of opportunity in an ever more refined hierarchically organized and professionally managed occupational structure—through measured academic competitiveness. This in the face of recent research which suggests that communities which are most supportive of the intellectual and emotional growth of its members are those in which important groups to which the individual looks are small, make no neat separation of youth and age, work and play, and education and vocation, and communities in which competition is not the dominant reason for acting and that no member is left to feel he stands alone.

The Islands' modern industrial society, set to cold and hot war politics and rapid economic growth, has, by historical standards, become a more acquisitive and aggressive society. The twin impact of science and corporate industry continually demands that all aspects of life, not only organization and technique, but fundamental habits of thought and behavior, be transformed. "Growth," often presumed by Island leaders to be the equivalent of improvement and increased quality of life, has seemingly or really left in tatters the progressive's ideal of schooling as a source of social unity by serving as a miniature democratic community of associated living and conjoint communicated experiences. Instead, to many, crime, dislocation and congestion became too commonplace.

The major troublesome consequence of these directions and meanings given schooling has been the production of quiet rebellion and alienation which take a variety of active socially and individually destructive forms. Hawai'i has now come to share the "crisis of youth," a commonplace feature of modernized contemporary societies.

Positively, there has been the emergence of the individual and self-conscious identity and the possibility of greater freedom as a consequence, too, of schooling.

Adult attitudes toward life and schooling must be in some part shaped by earlier school experience. Where there has been the fragmentation of cultural experience and the alienation often felt upon becoming an object in a manipulated and manipulating school environment, segments of Island people have been left with a sense of powerlessness, apathy, and hopelessness. Surely an active base of future public school support cannot be expected out of such consequences. Private schools appear to be faring better in this regard.

The removal or withdrawal of parents and other adults and older youth from active participation in the lives of children, for economic reasons, through alienation from the schools, and by school policies often the result of professional arrogance and fear, has left a vacuum in children's lives now increasingly filled by age-segregated peers and television addiction. It appears we must anticipate increased alienation, indifference, antagonism, and violence on the part of the younger generation, middle-class as well as the poor, if adults do not or are not able to become more involved in the lives of their children.

Schooling since the mid-1960s has come increasingly under question, whether fairly or not. If what historian David Tyack says of American schools in general is applicable to the schools of Hawai'i it is clear that schools cannot be understood or set apart from the larger social processes of which they are a part if they are to be improved. Notes Tyack:

> If earlier reforms are today the subject of attack, it is in part because substantial segments of society no longer believe in centralism as an effective response to human need, no longer trust in professionalism, no longer accept the inevitability or justice of the distribution of power and wealth along existing class and racial lines, and no longer think that technological change implies progress.

Ralph K. Stueber is Professor of Education with the Department of Educational Foundations, College of Education, University of Hawaii at Manoa.

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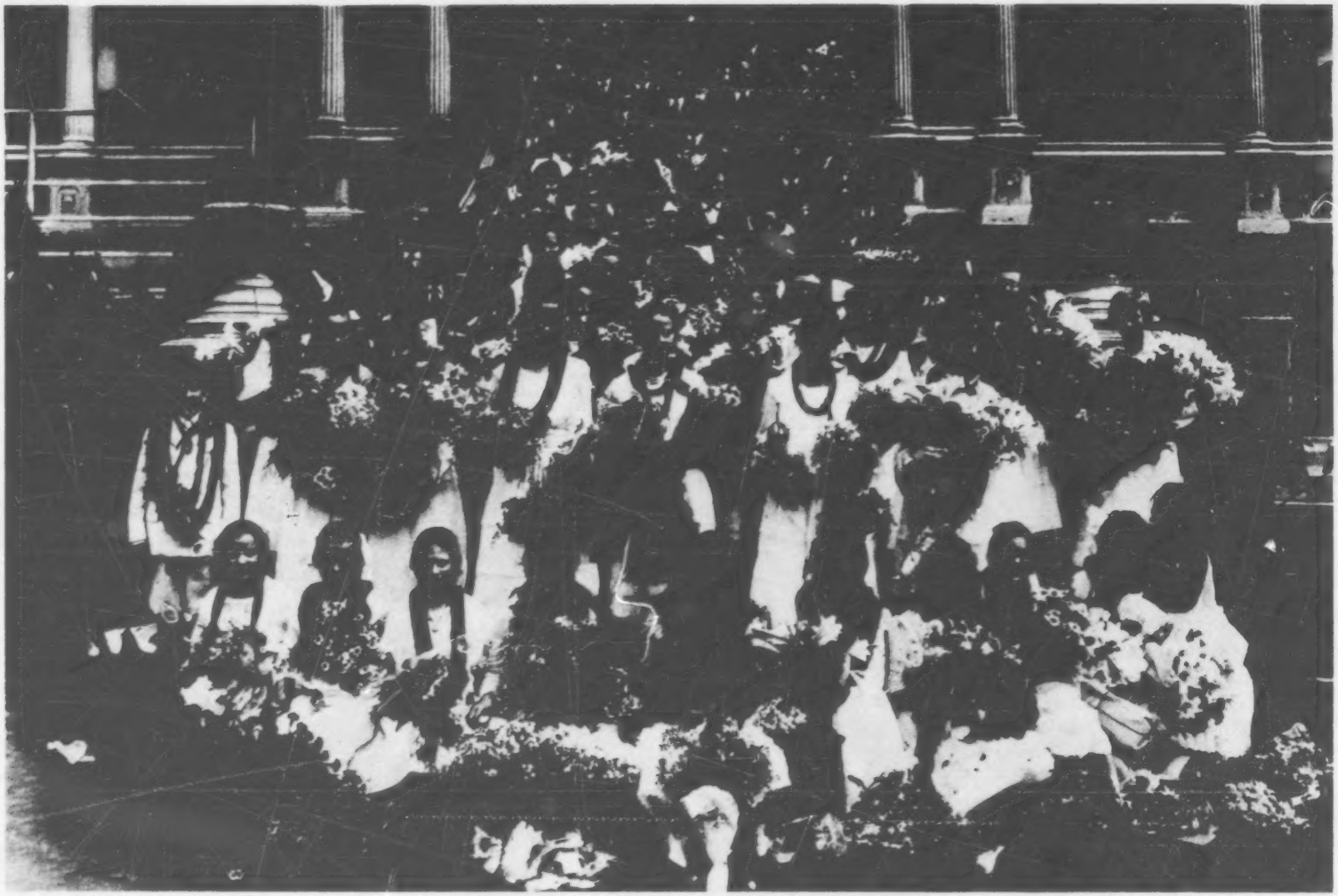


Central Grammar School Students
From Bishop Museum Photograph Collection
When Honolulu High School moved out of Princess Ruth's former palace in 1907 to form McKinley High School, the mansion then became Central Grammar School. In 1926 the aging palace was replaced by the present Central Intermediate School building.

73

74

THE CLASS OF THE YEAR 2000

Barbara Hunt

In 1982 the high school graduating class of the year 2000 will be born. So soon! The time has come to clarify questions, concerns and decisions as to how *you* want education to function in Hawai'i in the year 2000. Now is the time to think about the results of education, which receives the largest portion of our state budget.

In our rapidly-changing Island society—which is affected by action anywhere in the world—we cannot accurately predict the full catalog of events that will have influence on our 1982 babies, but we can participate in the growing public debate on the directions that their education should take. Both nationally and here in Honolulu, in print and in discussions, more and more people are becoming involved in a search for the preferred education of the future. In a public forum at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (June 24, 1981) the Education Study Group of the Hawai'i Commission on the Year 2000 gave several scenarios for education in Hawai'i and identified a number of conditions that will affect our educational planning. Two trends in particular demand our attention: the revolution in communications, and the possibility of a move away from big government toward local control.

The Communications Revolution

Some persons in the education business are even now saying that it is not necessarily so that in the year 2000 we will have a graduating class of 18-year-olds as we now know it. They believe that if we take hold of the current revolution in telecommunications and in computers, we could make it possible for any person—*kama'āina*, immigrant, Hawaiian, or *haole*; whatever age—3 to 98; to study any subject—arithmetic, or atomic science, or poetry; at any time—day or night, and at any place where a proper machine is functioning whether it be in the home, school, library or at the job site. Furthermore, in interaction with the machine, each student could proceed at his own rate and work to his fullest capacity. That is revolutionary!

This fast-changing technology gives us tools to extend our problemsolving capacity by locating and organizing large amounts of data. The computers can also provide us with teaching machines that will talk back to us. These machines are in short supply for use in schools, at present, but will be in full swing for our class of the year 2000 if we choose to finance and use them in our educational endeavors. They could, their promoters say, rapidly teach each student the basics without any interference from another person's needs. Each of us could sit alone and interact with our machine-teacher until we master the subject. And, along with the basics, we could choose any subject from our library of programs. Amazing! But what about the feel of the earth? the expression of life through the *hula* or modern dance? the skill and courage of interacting with people of differing points of view? Something is missing.

Others are doubtful that this can come to pass, or even that it should. If you're like me, everything about it sounds unreal. But then I was a person who, when hearing about something called "television" for the first time didn't think that it would really amount to anything; however, today it is probably our most prevasive, dramatic shaper of reality:

> Television is the *one* factor that practically all individuals in this society have in common. It is the unifying substratum of experience. In this sense television—and above all the fictional world that informs it—is a dominant ingredient shaping our consciousness for reality.[1]

In his summer computer class, Sean Morris, soon-to-be eighth grader at Kailua Intermediate School, is practicing programming a physics problem on the relationship between vision and sound.
Photo by R. Janthina Morris.

There are various ways to look at this shaping as has been pointed out in the editorial in a recent *TV Guide*:

> Pollsters from the Roper Organization asked 2000 adults what in life, day in and day out, gave them the most personal satisfaction. Guess what? Television came in second, after family. The survey found that television is more satisfying to people than having friends; more satisfying than jobs or homes or eating. (The five most gratifying things in life were family, television, friends, music and reading.)
>
> This news was predictably heartening to the industry, of course (and) . . . just as predictably, those who are persuaded that television is turning viewers' brains into tapioca will no doubt see in the Roper poll just one more bit of proof . . . .
>
> What struck *us* about this poll was how clearly it seemed to outline, for better or worse, the way we live now: snugly settled into our "media environment," we look at TVs and stereos and reading to give us, our families and friends common bonds and the security those bonds bring.[2]

Whatever stance we take about television, we need to remember that most of today's children spend as many hours of TV-watching as hours in school. Like all of us, they see the local and national news in terms of the dramas of the day and begin to build beliefs about people. They saw, for instance, many TV descriptions of the people of Iran shouting defiance and anger. This is one way of learning about people. Is it a preferred way? Are we developing the television we deserve?

> This situation (TV as the principal medium of mass communication and mass information) presents an immense challenge to the educational system of any modern society. Television, as the medium that reaches children even before they enter school and shapes their mental development as powerfully as does their schooling, the medium that plays such a critical role in determining the intellectual and cultural environment of the whole society, must in this context be regarded as an essential ingredient in any nation's educational system.[3]

The Move Toward Community Control

Nationwide there is a growing trend to look at the possibilities of shifting from big-government toward community and private-sector control of public institutions. At present, actually placing critical decisions about the content of education, teaching methods, and teacher qualifications in the hands of local communities is a potentiality rather than a reality. This is particularly true in Hawai'i where we have a single system of public education "entirely different from other systems in the United States."[4]

In Hawai'i the debate on the pros and cons of local leadership is becoming more noticeable and there are some moves in that direction. The previously-cited Education Committee for the Year 2000 gives approval to possible shifts toward decentralization in its "Preferred Scenario." Also, the state Department of Education had begun experimenting with programs that rely on some members of the community. An example of this is the "Kupuna Language Programs" developed by the Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center in which the Windward District of the Department of Education hires elders who have practical knowledge of Hawaiian to teach the language in its elementary schools. The DOE has also ventured into alternative education for alienated students by establishing "five alternate learning centers in the Leeward O'ahu District using itinerant counselors from the Kamehameha Schools former program, *Mālama O Ke Ola* (Caring for Life)."[5]

It is interesting to note that various private and public schools have widened their teaching base, from time to time, by placing students in work-study positions in local businesses and institutions. This has a touch of early Hawai'i where young people were functioning members of their society even as they learned. Following through on this idea, the Wai'anae Rap Center obtained federal funds, Title XX of the Social Security Act, and brought disenchanted youth back to their culture and their land in the Ka'ala Farm Project. Here students grow and sell their produce and learn the basics as need occurs.

A prime example of a local community leading the way in curriculum and the kind of education it desires within an established public school is the development of the Nānākuli Community-School Museum and Pacific Heritage Curriculum at Nānāikapono Elementary School. This was a cooperative venture of the Model Schools Project, funded by the Progressive Neighborhood Act of 1967; the Bishop Museum, and the Nānāikapono school which resulted in both a museum and curriculum based on the ethnic heritage of the students. The project began in 1970 and is functioning today as an example of community/school/museum cooperative knowhow.

Using her hands, kupuna *Pearl Kaoipo spells ALOHA with her class in the Hawaiian language program of the Windward District.*
Photo by The Honolulu Advertiser.

Some people believe that carrying this trend of local control to a logical conclusion would ultimately have us apportion the money for education to each student—or to his parents if he were a minor. Then each learner would have the responsibility of choosing whatever school, public or private; whichever style, group-oriented or programmed for individuals; whatever curriculum, concentrated on the basics or a wide-open selection of subjects; and any campus, a regular school, a local business, or the land and the sea.

If that were to happen, each school, teacher, and machine would be selected according to the results they produced. Would these selections for the class of the year 2000 develop confident learners who are curious about their world and who actively seek answers to dilemmas and conflicts? Will they care about our islands and know how to preserve them, and this larger, fragile island—earth? Will they have taken advantage of our rich Hawaiian society—with its Polynesian, Oriental, and Caucasian minorities—and at the same time will they have learned to seek ways toward solutions to the cultural dissonances that we hear today?

There are many questions about the outcomes of our educational choices for the class of the year 2000. No matter what the scenario turns out to be, these questions are the most important part of what we have discussed. What are your thoughts about education in Hawai'i in the future? Do you expect to have input in the decisionmaking process? What can we do to avoid the pitfalls of the past? Which way shall we go?

Barbara Hunt is Chairman of the Department of Education, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

Footnotes

[1]Esslin, Martin. *Age of Television.* New York: Freeman Publishing, 1981, p. 55.
[2]*TV Guide.* July 18, 1981, p. A2.
[3]Esslin, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
[4]*Digest of Master Plan for Public Education in Hawaii*, 1970, p. 6.
[5]Hawaii State Department of Education. *Department of Education Annual Report, 1980*, p. 17.

THE MISSIONARIES

The Congregationalist missionaries sent to the Hawaiian Islands were well-educated men and women. Among them were ordained ministers of the Gospel, physicians, teachers, secular agents, printers, a bookbinder, and a farmer. Most of them were young people, still in their twenties, full of life and enthusiasm. All were pious. Some were scholars who, when they had mastered the native language, were able to put the Scriptures into Hawaiian from the original Hebrew and Greek. All were versatile, as pioneers are forced to be.

Reverend Asa Thurston and Lucy Goodale Thurston
Ambrotype, Anonymous, ca. 1864
From Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library

Rev. Thurston graduated from Yale College, Connecticut, in 1816; Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts, in 1819, and was ordained at Goshen, Connecticut, on September 29, 1819, just 24 days before the *Thaddeus* left Boston for the Hawaiian Islands.

The Thurstons were members of the Pioneer Company and established the first missionary school in the Islands at Kailua, Hawai'i, in 1820.

83

Reverend David Belden Lyman, Sarah Joiner Lyman and Family
Daguerreotype by Hugo Stangenwald, Hilo, 1853
From Lyman House Memorial Museum

Rev. Lyman graduated from Williams College in 1828, Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts, 1831, and was ordained at Hanover, New Hampshire, on October 12, 1831. The Lymans were members of the Fifth Company.

In 1836, Rev. Lyman established the Hilo Boys' Boarding School, a vocational school which also offered preparatory courses for Lahainaluna Seminary. Mrs. Lyman also taught and was an advocate of using music in education.

84

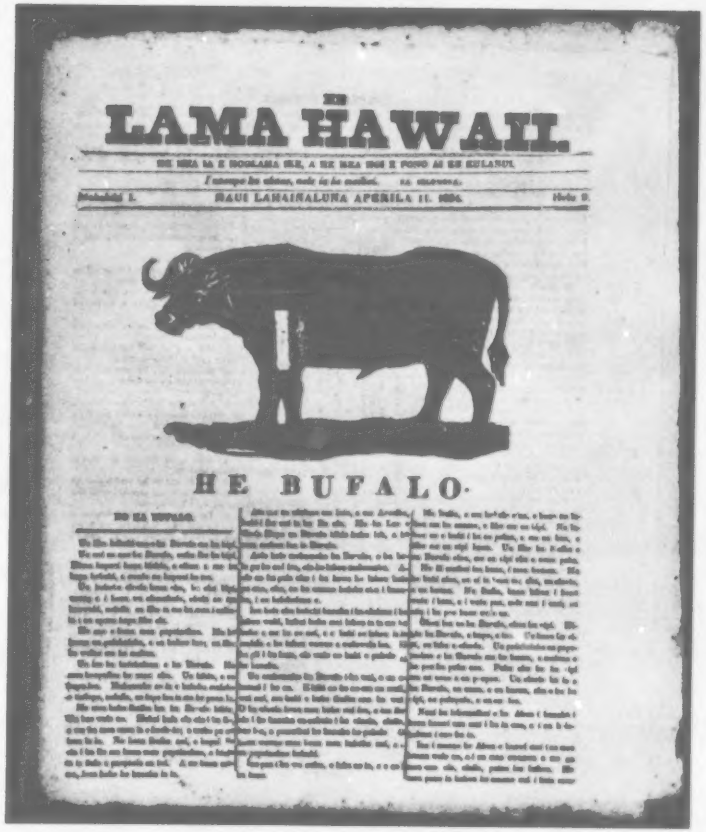
EARLY PRINTING

The missionaries were convinced that if their goals were to be achieved, the Hawaiian language must be used instead of English. The initial step was the establishment of a basic "alphabet" of 12 letters: five vowels and seven consonants.

On January 1, 1822, the missionaries employed a small press in their possession to publish the first Hawaiian-language material ever printed, a small broadside showing the Hawaiian alphabet. Out of this small beginning grew one of the most remarkable developments in the history of education—by March 1825, 16,000 primers and 13,500 catechisms had been printed; by March 1830, a total of 22 books had been printed in the Hawaiian language, representing a total of 387,000 copies with 10,287,800 pages!

The missionary presses did not confine themselves to religious material, but published Hawaiian translations of a variety of texts on topics ranging from geography to anatomy. The earliest newspapers west of the Rocky Mountains were products of the Hawaiian Mission press in 1834. Woodcuts were frequently used as illustrations in these early papers.

The Alphabet
Mission Press, Honolulu, 1823, Third Impression
From Cooke Library Archives, Punahou School

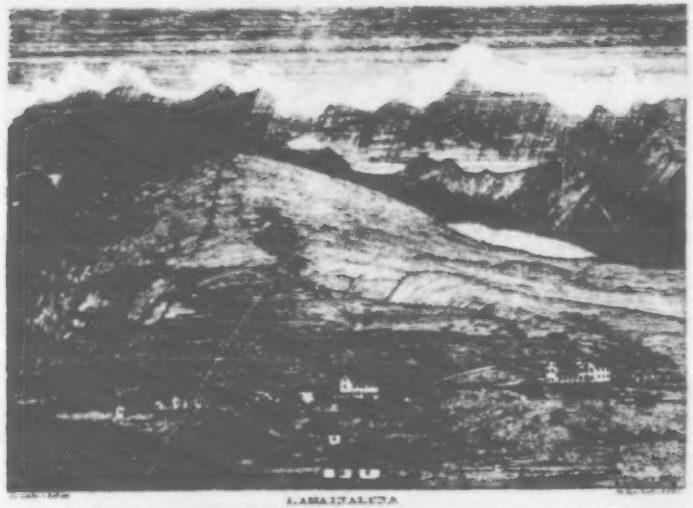


He Lama Hawai'i/The Hawaiian Luminary
Lahainaluna, April 11, 1834
From Bishop Museum Library

LAHAINALUNA SEMINARY

Lahainaluna Seminary was established in Lahaina, Maui, in June, 1831, for "the raising up of teachers and other helpers" in mission work. Rev. Lorrin Andrews served as the first principal of the school which numbered among its early graduates the eminent Hawaiian scholars, David Malo and Samuel M. Kamakau.

Printing and engraving played an important part in the school's history. Under Andrews' direction, about 150 "Lahainaluna engravings" were produced by students at the school for textbooks and other instructional uses.



Lahainaluna
Copper engraving by Kepohoni, ca. 1840
From Bishop Museum Library, Carter Collection
Although founded as a missionary school, Lahainaluna became a government school in 1849. The school recently celebrated its 150th anniversary.

Reverend Lorrin Andrews
Albumin print, ca. 1865
From Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library
Rev. Andrews was educated at Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, and Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey; and was ordained at Washington, Kentucky. A member of the Third Company, he established Lahainaluna Seminary on Maui in 1831 and served as its principal and teacher for the next eleven years.

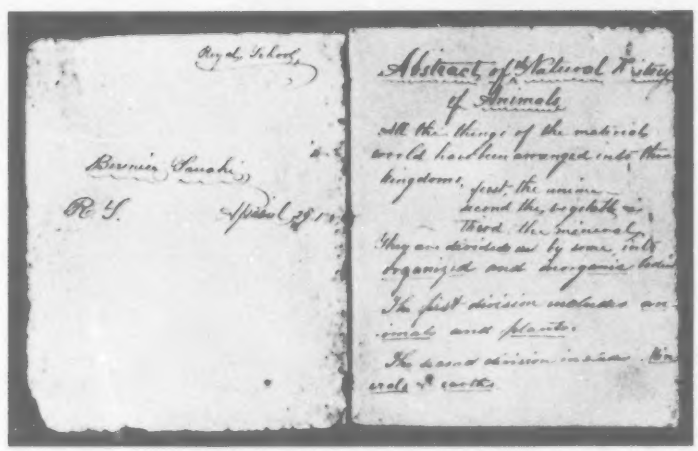
O'AHU CHARITY SCHOOL

O'ahu Charity School was started in 1831 by Andrew Johnstone, a seaman's chaplain, for the education, in English, of *hapa-haole* (half-white) children of foreign residents. The school, located in Honolulu, was supported entirely by private subscription.

O'ahu Charity School
Albumin print by Hugo Stangenwald, ca. 1856
From Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library

CHIEFS' CHILDREN'S SCHOOL (ROYAL SCHOOL)

The Chiefs' Children's School opened in June, 1839, with an enrollment of four boys and two girls. This "infant seminary" was created at the request of Kamehameha III and the chiefs who desired systematic instruction for their children. Missionaries Amos and Juliette Cooke were selected by the King to teach and superintend the operation of the school. Instruction was in English. Built with government funds, the school was officially renamed Royal School in 1846.



School Notebook of Bernice Pauahi
Royal School, 1846 [?]
From Bishop Museum Library

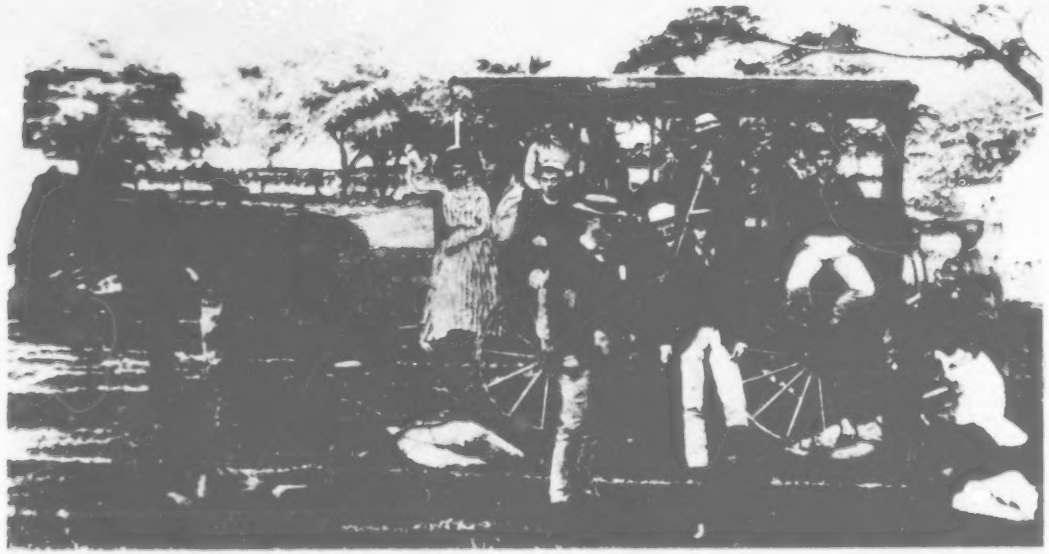
Princess Bernice Pauahi entered the Chiefs' Children's School at the age of 8, when it was first established, and remained enrolled until her marriage 11 years later. She was especially close to teachers Amos and Juliette Cooke and was a diligent scholar. The influence of Princess Bernice Pauahi's school experience is reflected in the fact that the betterment of the Hawaiian race through education became the dominant commitment of her life.

PUNAHOU SCHOOL

The missionaries were eager to provide their children with educations similar to their own, yet were reluctant to send them back to England for schooling. To overcome the problem of separated families, Punahou School was established in 1841.

The early requirements of the school were gardening, sewing, and other manual activities; advanced instruction being available only in the nature of tutoring. By 1854, the curriculum had been expanded—two years of college-level instruction were offered—and the school took on the name, O'ahu College. Although the school never took hold as a college, Punahou School has continued to play a major role in the educational history of Hawai'i as the Islands' leading preparatory school, with a distinguished record of achievement by its graduates.

Punahou School Campus, 1863
Photograph, Anonymous
From Cooke Library Archives, Punahou School



Horse-drawn School Bus with Punahou Students, 1880s
Photograph, Anonymous
From Cooke Library Archives, Punahou School

MINISTERS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

The first public school executive in Hawai'i was David Malo, appointed in 1841 to the dual position of school agent for the island of Maui and superintendent of the entire system. He served in this capacity until 1845, when the educational system was reorganized.

DAVID MALO

Born at Keauhou, Kona, Hawai'i, about 1793, Malo was raised in the environment of the Hawaiian court. A brilliant student, he became an authority in Hawaiian ethnology and history. He later moved to Lahaina, Maui, where he was instructed in and converted to Christianity by Rev. William Richards. He enrolled at Lahainaluna and studied there for several years.

While serving as superintendent of the public school system, Malo brought rapid improvements to the schools on Maui but his ardent Protestantism biased his official acts.

Malo was the third native Hawaiian to be ordained as a preacher and he became a missionary to his own people, ministering in the district of Kula. Malo is best remembered today for his writings on the history of his people.

David Malo
Painting by Alfred T. Agate, ca. 1840
From Bishop Museum Photograph Collection

THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES

When the first party of Catholic missionaries arrived in Hawai'i in 1827, they had to contend with the jealousies of the Protestant missionaries who were already well established with the chiefs. The priests were actually banished from the Islands in 1831; freedom of worship for Catholics was achieved in 1839 under threat of force by the French government.

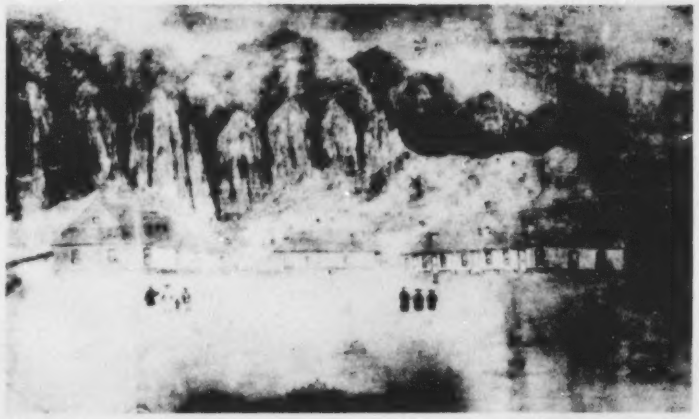
In 1840 the Hawaiian government created a public school system incorporating both Protestant and Catholic schools. Working under the terms of this new system, Catholics quickly organized an extensive network of schools. In Honolulu, Father Maigret established Roma Nui School as a school for training native teachers. Graduates of this school were sent out to teach in rural schools organized by priests wherever enough pupils could be found. By 1843 the Catholic Mission was conducting about 100 schools with some 3,000 pupils, taught largely by government-certified native teachers.

Pahoa School and Children
Photograph by Brother Gabriel Bertram, ca. 1890
Modern print from glass plate negative
From Brother Bertram Collection, Pacific Marianist Archives

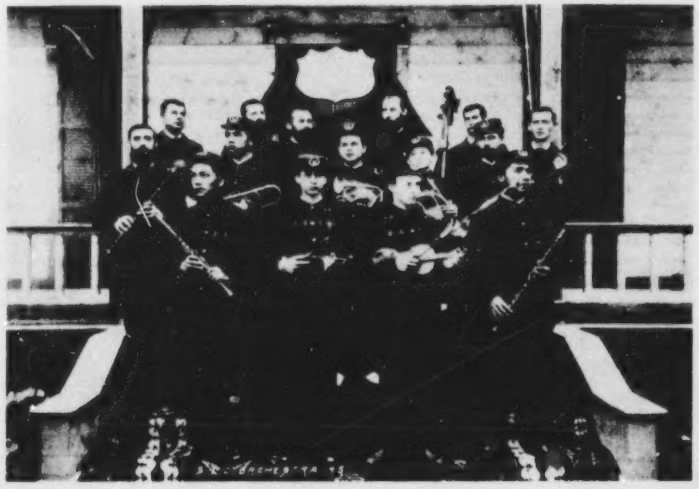
The Catholic Mission organized a network of small, rural schools with native teachers. This system served effectively until the 1880s when Catholic authorities began to invite religious orders from the mainland to take over the schools in an effort to improve the quality of instruction.

ST. LOUIS HIGH SCHOOL

Successor to ʻĀhuimanu College, St. Louis was organized in 1881 in response to a population shift to Honolulu and a desire for an English school. Originally titled a "college" and housed in the "Stonehouse" adjoining Washington Place, the school moved to new quarters on River Street in 1882 where it was placed under the administration of the Brothers of Mary. The school moved to its present location at Kalaepōhaku in 1928.



ʻĀhuimanu College, ca. 1880
Painting, Anonymous
From Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library
ʻĀhuimanu College was established in 1846 in Heʻeia, on the windward side of Oʻahu. It was a boarding school whose graduates were considered qualified to serve as teachers. The modern St. Louis High School is a direct descendant of ʻĀhuimanu College.



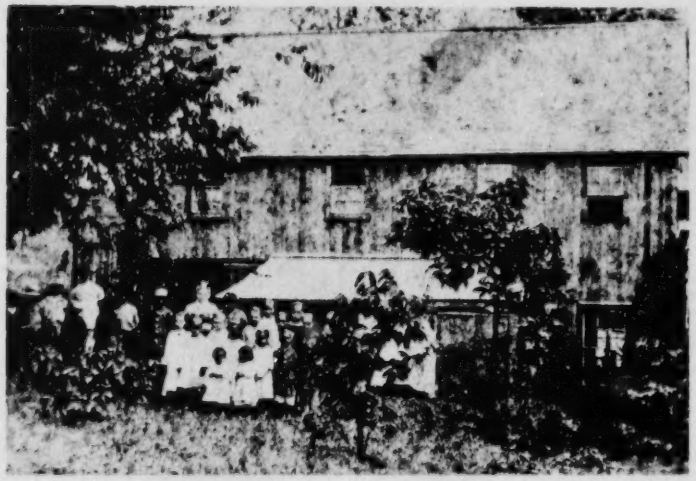
St. Louis College Orchestra
Albumin print, 1895
From Brother Bertram Collection, Pacific Marianist Archives
The orchestra consisted of selected students from the school band and various members of the faculty, who stand at the rear in frock coats.

THE ANGLICAN MISSIONARIES

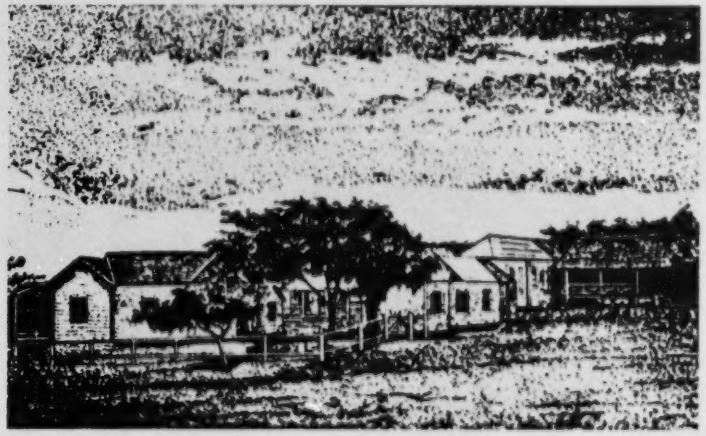
In the period preceding the arrival of the American missionaries, there were almost as many foreign residents in Hawai'i from the British Isles as there were from the United States. Establishment of the Episcopal Church, however, did not come about until 1862, under Anglican sponsorship rather than American. The British Anglican Church remained until after the annexation of Hawai'i by the United States.

One of the first problems to engage the attention of the Anglican Church leaders was education. Their initial effort consisted of the establishment in 1863 of St. Alban's College in Pauoa Valley, Honolulu. Other schools were organized at various centers in the Islands.

In 1865 Bishop Staley of the Anglican Church was appointed by Kamehameha V to the Board of Public Instruction. Staley was a staunch advocate of the already existing practice of subsidy for private and church schools.



Christ Church Family Boarding School, Kona
Albumin print, 1881
From Hawai'i State Archives, Episcopal Church Collection
The term "family" boarding school means that the curriculum stressed homemaking skills.

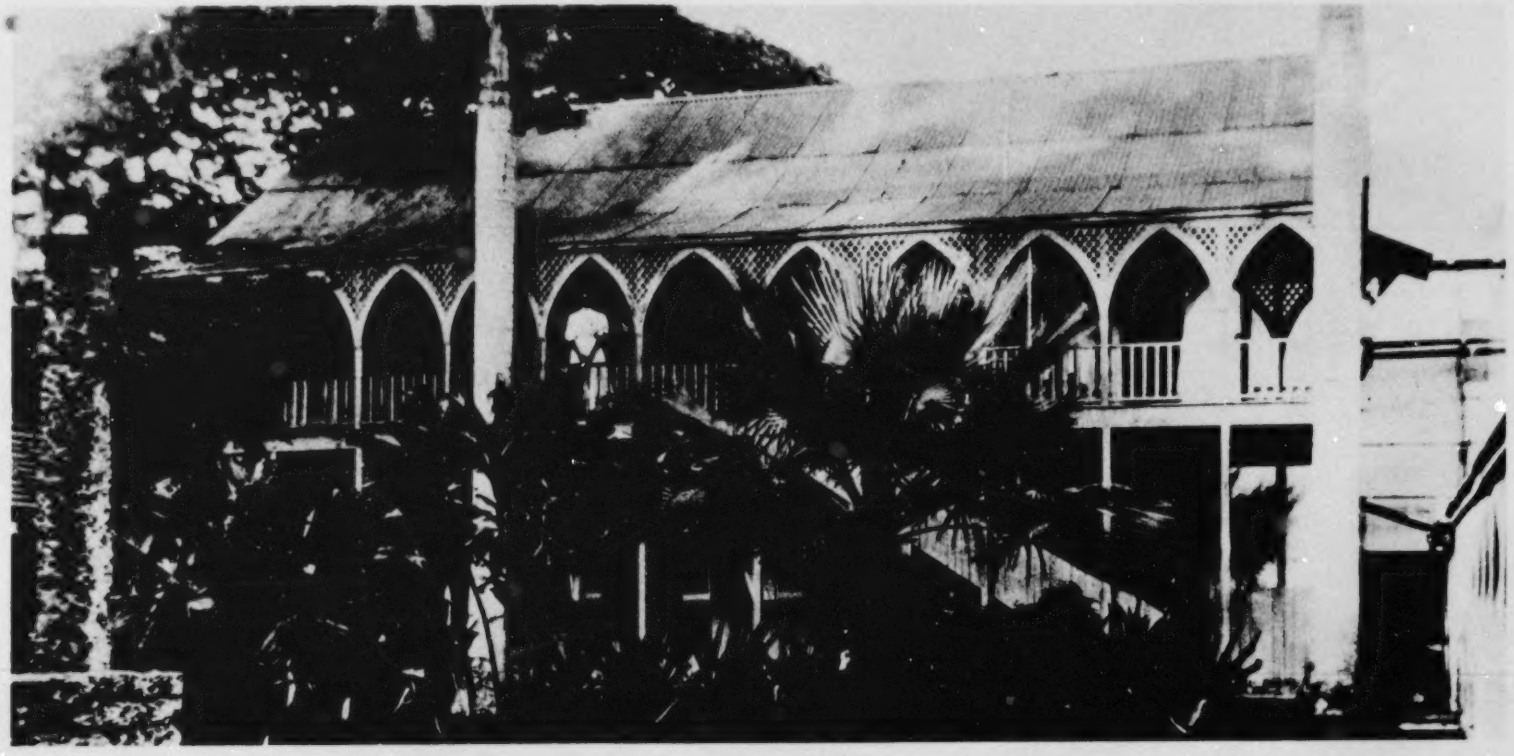


'Iolani School at Bates Street
Drawing, ca. 1880
From 'Iolani School Archives
First established at Lua'ehu, Lahaina, Maui, in 1863, 'Iolani School during its Bates Street period (1872-1902) was situated on the personal property of Bishop Willis, its founder. An early account in the *Hawaiian Church Chronicle*, the Episcopal Church newspaper, describes the buildings as consisting of the Bishop's residence, dormitory, schoolhouse, carpenter shop, dining hall, chapel, hospital, printing office, bathhouse, and three cottages. By the early 1900s the student body had become largely Oriental replacing its original Hawaiian ethnic character.

ST. ANDREW'S PRIORY

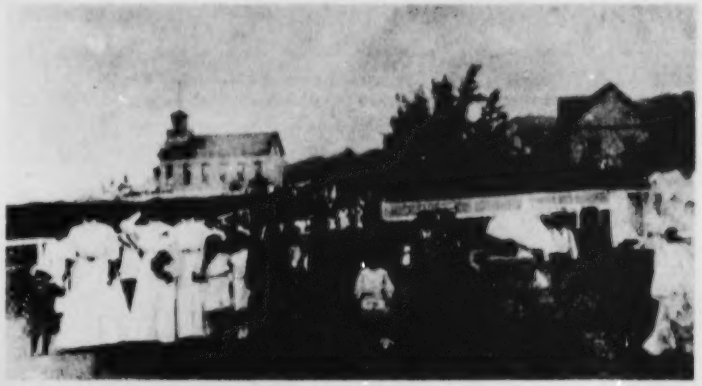
St. Andrew's Priory for Girls was founded in 1867 by the Anglican Church as a direct result of Queen Emma's visit to England and her appeal for help in organizing a girl's school. Supported by patronesses in England, the school began mainly with pupils from well-to-do Hawaiian families. In 1902, control of the Priory was given to the newly-organized American Episcopal Church. The school emphasized those skills and curricula which were valuable in developing Christian character and homemaking skills.

Old Priory Court, St. Andrew's Priory School
Silver print by J.H. Catton, ca. 1905
From St. Andrew's Priory Archives



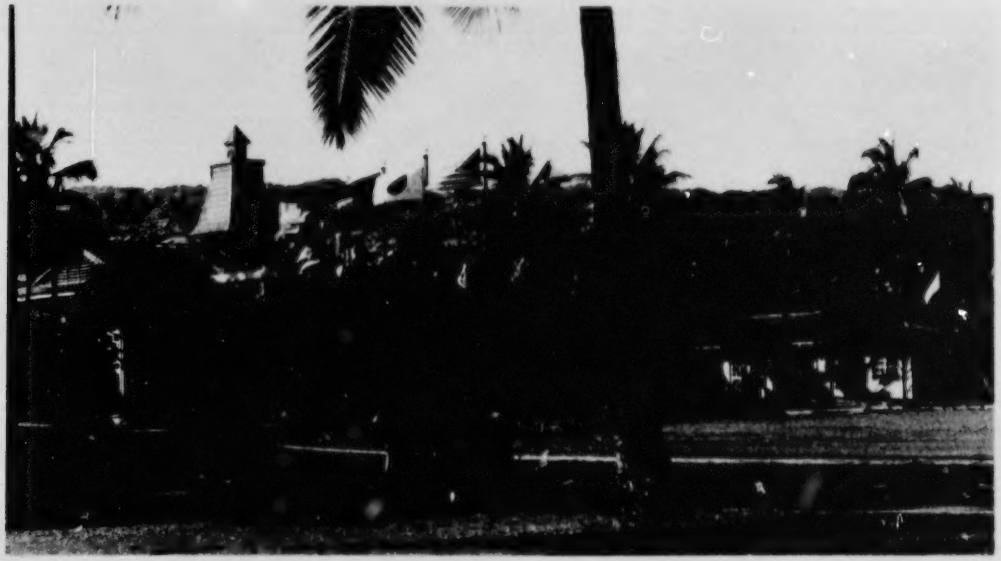
THE MORMON MISSIONARIES

The Mormon experience in Hawai'i began in December 1850 with the arrival of a group of ten missionaries. Within three years they had attracted 3,016 converts and by 1865 had acquired a 1600-acre site in Lā'ie to serve as a "gathering place" for the religion. The Lā'ie mission struggled but grew steadily with sugar becoming its principal resource. The missionaries were sufficiently successful in their evangelical work to encourage their founder, George Quayle Cannon, to ask the government for treatment similar to that given the Protestants and Catholics, resulting in the integration of Mormon schools into the public school system.



Mormon School and Chapel, Lā'ie, ca. 1890
Photograph, Anonymous
From Brigham Young University-Hawai'i Campus Archives

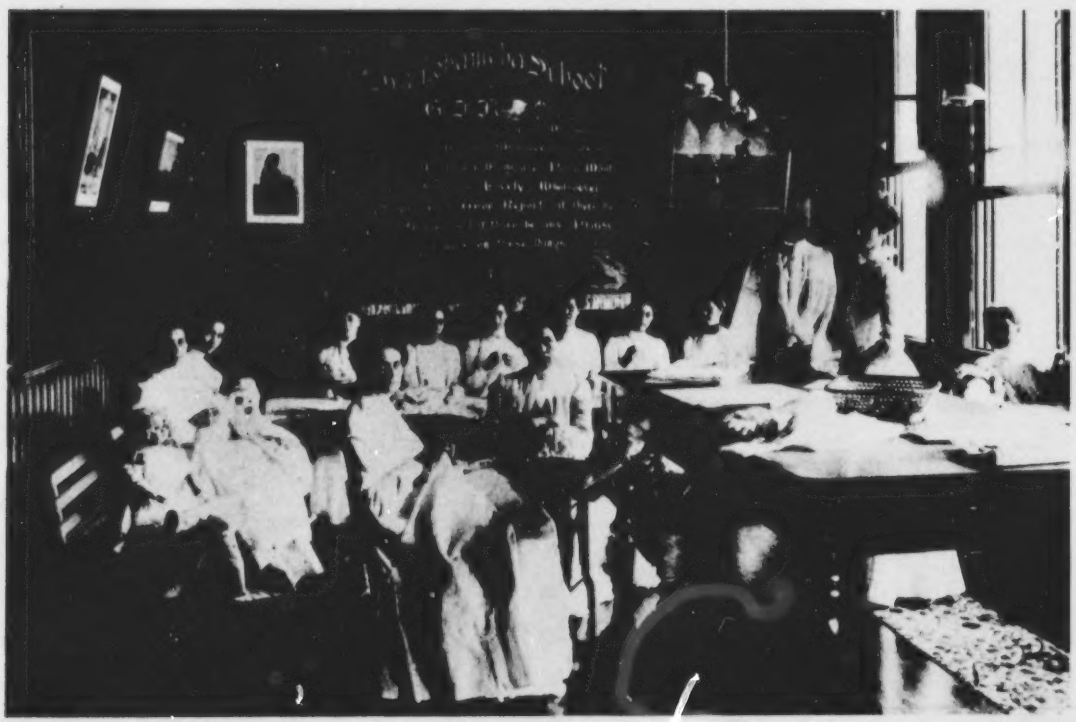
Brigham Young University-Hawai'i Campus
Photograph, Anonymous
From Brigham Young University-Hawai'i Campus Archives
The dream of a Mormon college to serve the Pacific region was made a reality with the opening of the Church College of Hawai'i at Lā'ie in 1955.



KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOLS

The Kamehameha Schools were founded in 1887 under the provisions of the will of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, great-granddaughter of Kamehameha I and inheritor of vast royal lands. Her bequest stipulated that the entire estate be used for the education of children of Hawaiian ancestry. The schools were the product of Bernice's Protestant-inspired dedication to the betterment of Hawaiian youth through education.

The first principal at Kamehameha wa Rev. William B. Olesan, former principal of Hilo Boarding School nd personal friend of Bernice's husband, Charles Reed Bishop. ev. Olesan developed a curriculum that placed emphasis on English usage, vocal music, vocational training, and "manual education." In later years this curriculum gave way to college-preparatory courses.



Kamehameha School Women in Sewing Class, ca. 1900
Photograph, Anonymous
From Hawai'i State Archives

HONOLULU NORMAL AND TRAINING SCHOOL

To overcome a chronic lack of adequately-trained teachers, Honolulu High School organized a "normal school" department in 1895. (A "normal school" is a school for teacher training.) A year later this department was separated from the high school to form the Honolulu Normal and Training School. In 1931 the Normal School and the School of Education of the University of Hawai'i merged to create the Teacher's College, University of Hawai'i.

Normal School
Photograph by Edgeworth, 1919
From University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Archives

Normal School Faculty
Photograph by Edgeworth, 1919
From University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Archives

KINDERGARTENS

Kindergartens were begun under private auspices in the 1890s. Prior to 1900 the kindergartens were racially organized, serving an important role by preparing non-English speaking children for entry into the public school system. Kindergartens remained privately organized and charitably funded through the first half of the twentieth century, although in 1919 the legislature did fund one public kindergarten on each of the major islands as an experiment—only to abandon the project after one year.

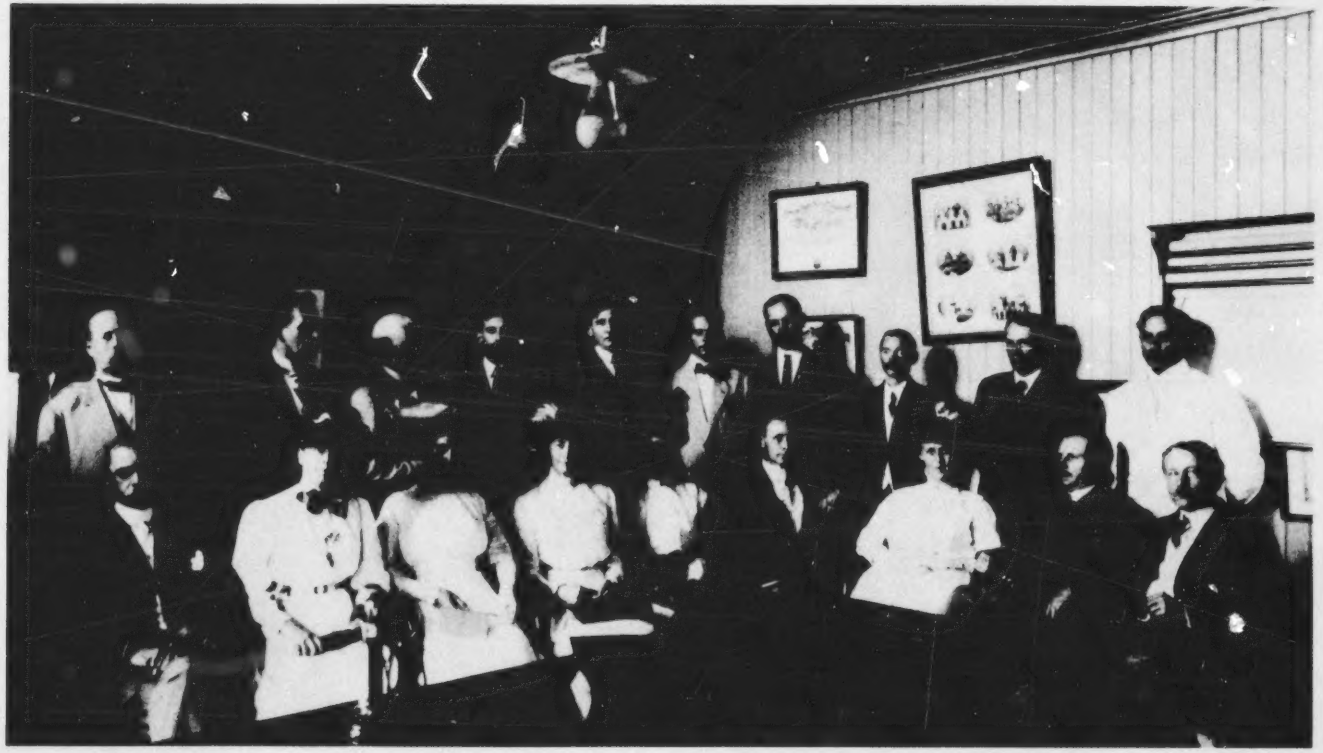
Free Kindergarten, Children's Aid Association
Photograph by Edgeworth, February 14, 1913
From Bishop Museum Photograph Collection

The Free Kindergarten and Children's Aid Association of the Hawaiian Islands was incorporated in June, 1895. Locally-trained kindergarten teachers were said to be "select young ladies" who "have worked hard and acquired great proficiency in the mysteries of Froebel's admirable system of training infant minds."

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

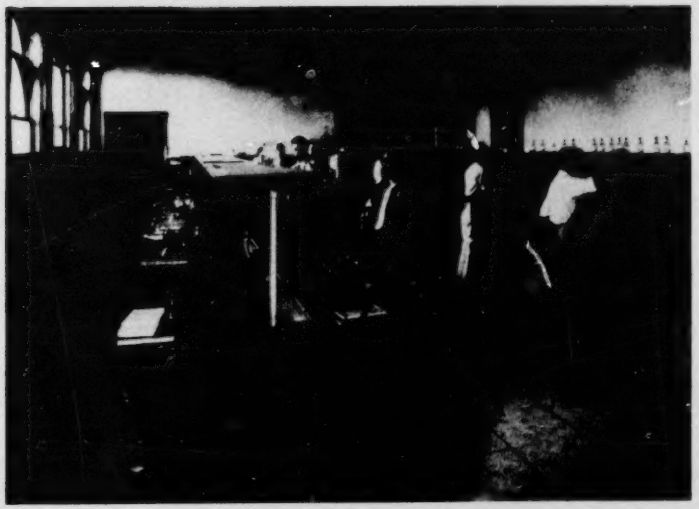
When Hawai'i became a US Territory in 1900, the legal framework for education was determined by Congress in an Organic Act. Since Hawai'i already had a place in a school system that was American in its essential characteristics, the framers of the Organic Act provided for few changes relative to education. The system was centralized under the Department of Public Instruction, headed by a superintendent and a board of commissioners. The first Superintendent of Education for the Territory was Alatau T. Atkinson, who had previously served as the Principal of Fort Street School and as Inspector General.

Commissioners of the Department of Public Instruction
Photograph, October 7, 1911
From Bishop Museum Photograph Collection



111

112

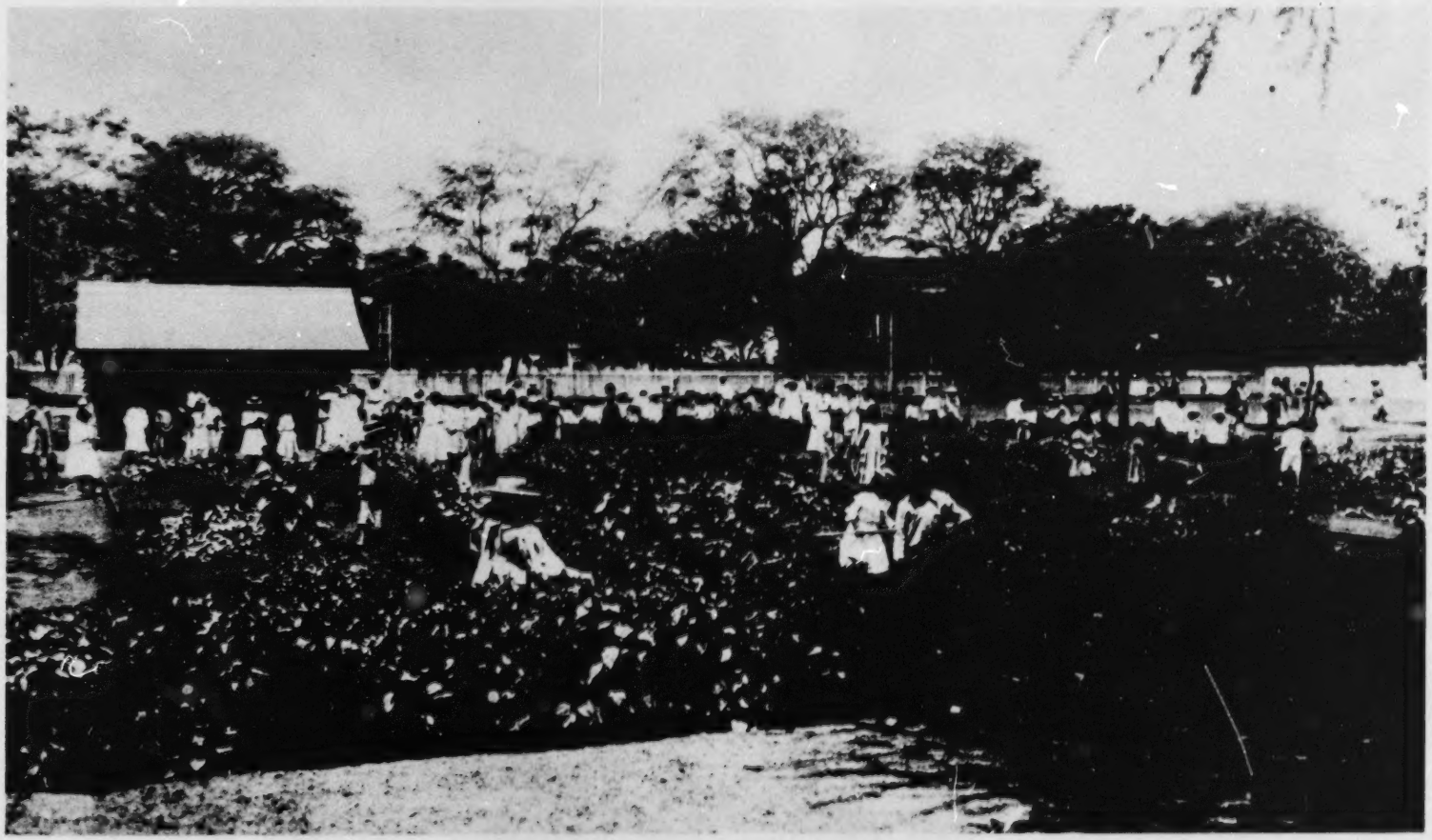


Chemistry Class, McKinley High School
Photograph, March 1911
From Bishop Museum Photograph Collection

McKinley High School reigned for many years as the largest and most progressive public high school in Hawai'i. Directly descended from Honolulu High School, the first public secondary school in the Islands, McKinley High School was originally located on Victoria Street. Construction of the present McKinley campus was begun in 1922.

Elementary School, Anahola, Kaua'i
From Hawai'i State Archives

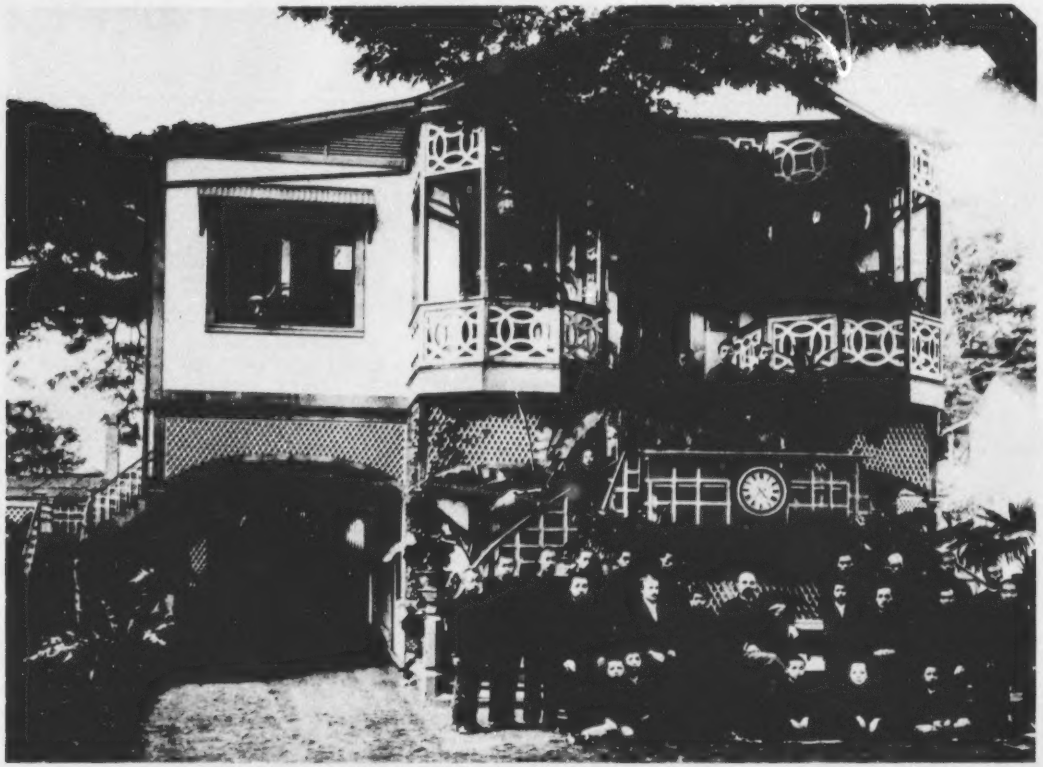
Fort Street School
Albumin print, late 1860s
From Bishop Museum Photograph Collection
Established in 1865 as the English Day School, the Fort Street School became a government English select school in 1869, with tuition charged. In 1895 the school was divided with the younger students going to the newly-formed Ka'iulani School and the older students to Honolulu High School, the Islands' first public high school, housed in Princess Ruth's former mansion.



Ka'iulani School Garden
Albumin print, ca. 1900
From Hawaii State Archives
Ka'iulani School, one of the successors of the old Fort Street School, opened in 1895 on King Street in Palama.

MILLS SCHOOL

Mills School for Oriental Boys began in 1892 with six Chinese boys in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Francis Damon, former missionaries to China. The students were instructed in English and the Bible. The School later merged with the Japanese Christian Boarding School and the Methodist Korean Mission School to become Mills Institute. In 1910, Mills Institute and the KawaiaHa'o Seminary for Girls joined to form the Mid-Pacific Institute with "300 students of ten different races."



Mills School
Albumin print, ca. 1894
From Hawai'i State Archives

JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

For the most part, Japanese language schools were established for the teaching of Japanese language and culture, and were not intended to compete with the public school system. Children attended Japanese school either before or after public school hours.

Public school officials were nonetheless critical of the foreign language schools—objecting to the long schooling hours and divided student attention. In 1920 the Hawaii legislature passed a law attempting to place Japanese language schools under the Department of Public Instruction, with student attendance limited to one hour per day, after public school hours. The law was declared unconstitutional by the US Supreme Court in 1927.

Although the curriculum in Japanese language schools centered on teaching the Japanese language, students were also instructed in the cultural traditions of Japan, such as sewing and calligraphy.

Japanese Language School, Kula, Maui
Photograph, ca. 1899
From Bishop Museum Photograph Collection

The second Japanese language school in Hawai'i was founded in Kula, Maui, in 1895. The one-room school had only about 20 pupils at any one time; all were Japanese except, briefly, two Portuguese boys (both in photograph). In remote communities, some young children attended only language school for several years before their parents would permit them to walk the long distance to the nearest public (English) school.

Mrs. Raku Saka Morimoto, first child in the second row-left, now 91 and a Honolulu resident, vividly recalled those early days in up-country Maui in a recent interview. "My parents, Shoshichi and Chika Saka, had come to Hawai'i in 1885 on the first ship of government-contracted immigrants from Japan. We lived first on the sugar plantation in Kekaha, Kaua'i, then in Spreckelsville, Maui. I was born in 1890 and in 1894 we all moved to Kula. Besides the Japanese, there were also sizable Chinese and Portuguese communities. Like the Japanese, they had their own area and kept much to themselves. Our schoolhouse was furnished western-style with desks and chairs rather than the traditional Japanese-style desks that would have required us to sit on the floor.

"Our community was so isolated that most parents refused to allow their children to walk the long and dangerous route to the nearest public school, consequently, we spent long hours—all morning, Monday through Saturday—in language school.

"The biggest holiday celebration was not a Japanese holiday, such as the Emperor's birthday, but Christmas. This was probably because both our founder, Seiji Fukuda (seated, right), and our teacher, Tamaki Gomi (seated, left), were Christians. We would have a Hawaiian-style Christmas at the school for the entire community—complete with luau, Nativity story, and, of course, Santa Claus!"

Interview notes provided by Gaylord C. Kubota

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I

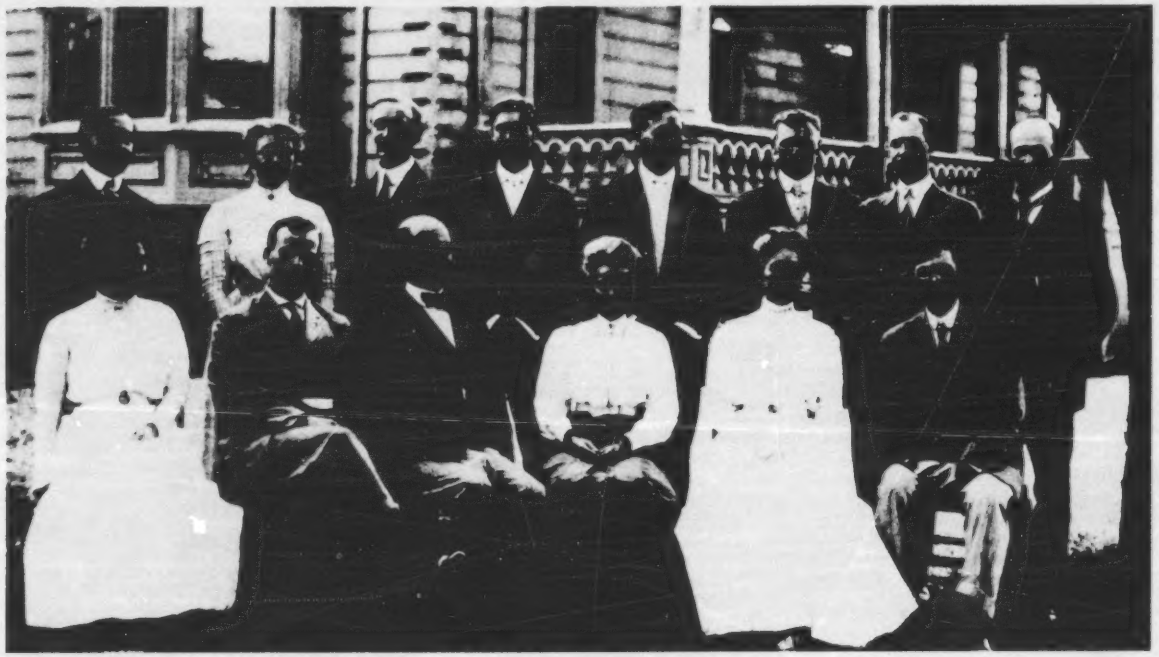
The forerunner of the University of Hawai'i was the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts of the Territory of Hawai'i, created by Legislative Act 24 in 1907. The first home for the College was the Maertens residence near Thomas Square. In 1911 the school was renamed College of Hawai'i and a new campus was located in Mānoa.

In an effort to expand the scope of the institution, the College was reorganized in 1920 to form the University of Hawai'i. The old College of Hawai'i became the College of Applied Science, and a new College of Arts and Sciences was added. From these two colleges, with a total registration of 382 students in 1921, the University has grown to include six colleges enrolling over 39,000 students today.

1982 marks the 75th anniversary of the founding of the University of Hawai'i.

College of Hawai'i Faculty, 1909-1910
From University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Archives

Agnes Hunt, Raymond C. Severance, William A. Bryan, Carrie P. Green, Minnie E. Chipman and John M. Young, *front row, left to right.* Arthur R. Keller, Mildred Yoder, Briggs E. Porter, Vaughan MacCaughey, John W. Gilmore (President), Valentin Buehner and Frank T. Dillingham, *back row, left to right.*



123

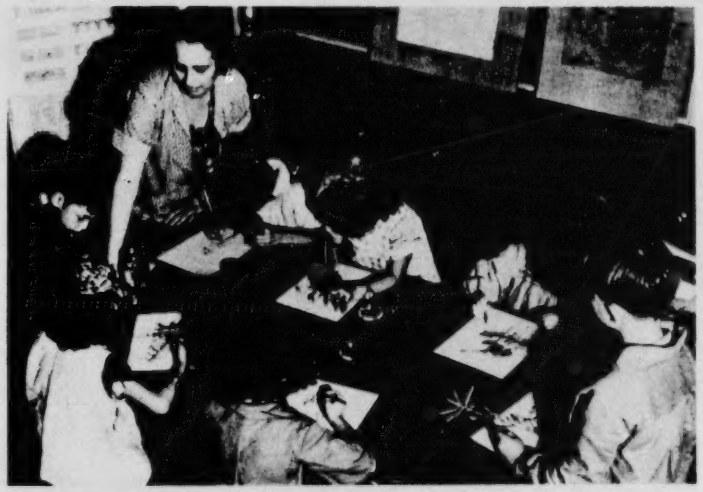
124

Aerial View, University of Hawai'i Campus
Photograph, April 18, 1924
From Bishop Museum Photograph Collection
A 16-acre portion of Highland Park in Mānoa Valley became the nucleus of the present 400-acre University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

In 1931 the Territorial Normal School was merged with the School of Education of the University of Hawai'i to create Teacher's College, the third undergraduate, degree-granting college at the University. In 1959 Teacher's College was renamed the College of Education. Since 1931, more than 23,500 students have graduated from both Teachers College and the College of Education.

1981 marks the 50th anniversary of the founding of the College of Education.



Laboratory School Art Class, 1937
From University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Archives
A laboratory school is attached to the University for teacher training.

College of Education
Photograph by Francis Haar
From College of Education, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
The College of Education's complex of buildings is located at the 'ewa end of the Mānoa campus.

VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

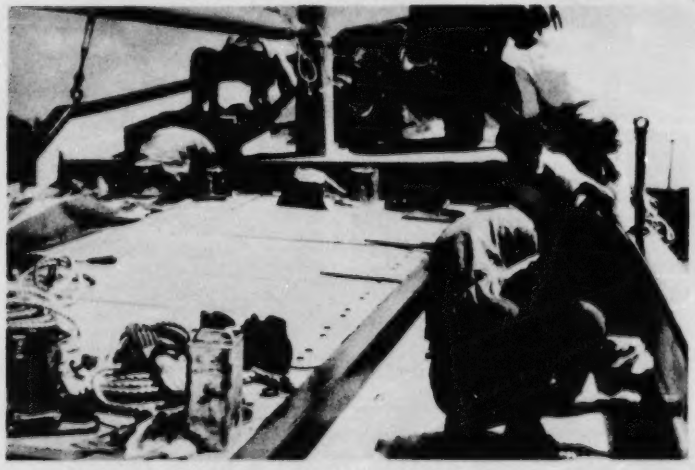
Under legislative mandate, the Department of Public Instruction began to develop a program of vocational education in the mid-1920s with emphasis on trades and industry, homemaking and agriculture. Vocational courses were offered in high schools, and special trade schools were established. Our present system of community colleges had its origins in this system of trade schools.

Carpentry Class
Kaua'i Community College
From Office of University Relations, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

In 1965, four technical schools in Hawai'i were placed under the jurisdiction of the University of Hawai'i, forming the basis of a community college system that today includes seven colleges. The curriculum of the community colleges integrates liberal arts courses with vocational training.

Students Working on the *Maizie C* Sampan
Photograph, 1936
From Office of University Relations, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

The *Maizie C*, built by 60 students of the Maui Trade School, was launched in 1939 and used to ship cattle for the Kaho'olawe Ranch Company. The Maui Trade School was organized in 1932.



CHAMINADE UNIVERSITY

Chaminade University had its origins in St. Louis Junior College, a men's college founded in 1955. Two years later, the College was changed to a four-year, co-educational institution and renamed the Chaminade College of Honolulu.

Chaminade University
Photograph, Anonymous
From Chaminade University

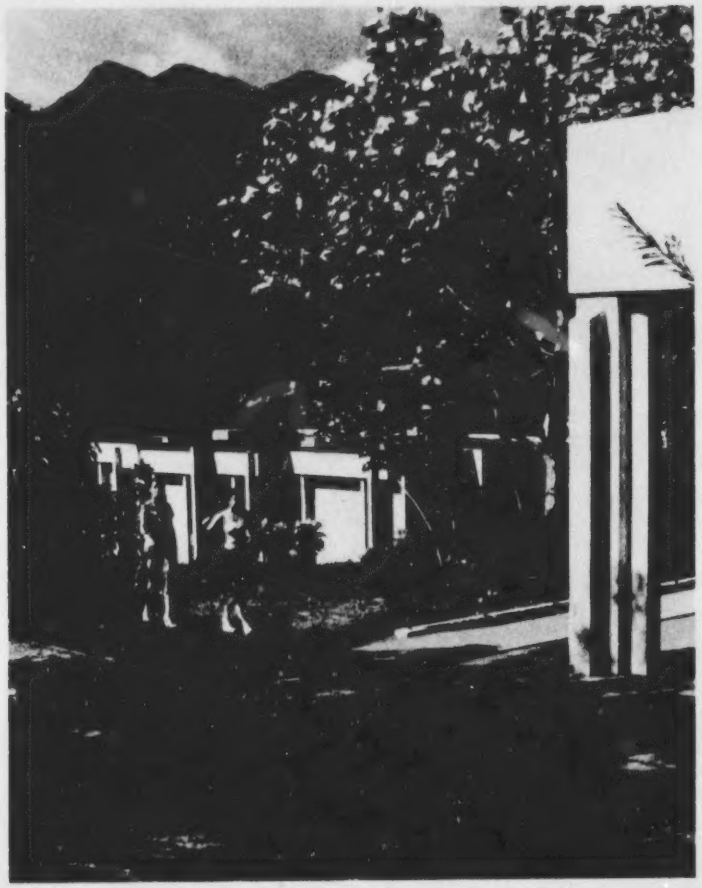
131

132

HAWAI'I LOA COLLEGE

Founded by four Protestant denominations, Hawai'i Loa College first opened for classes in 1967. The coeducational college occupies a 135-acre campus on the windward side of O'ahu.

Hawai'i Loa College
Photograph, Anonymous
From Hawai'i Loa College



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Co-Directors of the Project	**ALEX L PICKENS** Professor of Education College of Education **DAVID KEMBLE** Exhibits Chairman Bishop Museum
Editor and Designer	**ALEX P KALI** Editor Office of University Relations
Typesetting Consultant	**TANNA ALAMA HEE** Sales Representative SB PRINTERS INC
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Cover photograph
Classroom Scene - ʻŌlaʻa, Hawai'i
Photograph, ca. 1914
From Bishop Museum Photograph Collection